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ABSTRACT

Case studies on ministries of education were sought from states with populations under 1.5 million and displaying a wide range of economic, geographic, and cultural diversity. The introduction has six main sections: (1) information on definitions and the contents of the book; (2) an account of other Commonwealth Secretariat initiatives on education in small states; (3) literature on education in small states; (4) literature on public administration in small states; (5) the applicability and limitations of the work; and (6) an outline on the structure of the book. A 73-item bibliography follows the introduction. The 14 country studies in the book are grouped in 5 sections by their geographical location in the world: (1) Africa (Botswana, The Gambia, and Seychelles); (2) Asia (Brunei Darussalam and Maldives); (3) Caribbean (Barbados, Dominica, Guyana, Montserrat, and St. Lucia): (4) Europe (Jersey and Malta); and (5) South Pacific (Kiribati and Solomon Islands). In most cases, the authors of the case studies were administrators in ministries of education, dealing on a day-to-day basis with the issues that they address. Among the group of statistical indicators that precedes each case study is the Human Development Index based on average life expectancy, adult literacy, and the power to buy commodities for satisfying basic needs. Dispersed within the book are 19 figures and 27 tables. A list of acronyms precedes the case studies and an index concludes the publication. (MLF)

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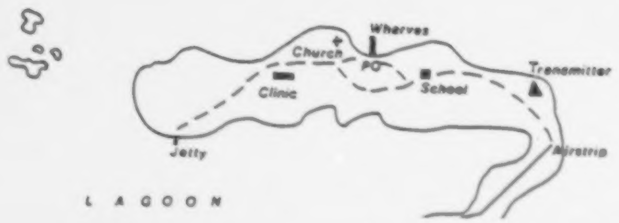
Case Studies of Organization and Management



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Ministries of Education in Small States:

Case Studies of Organisation and Management

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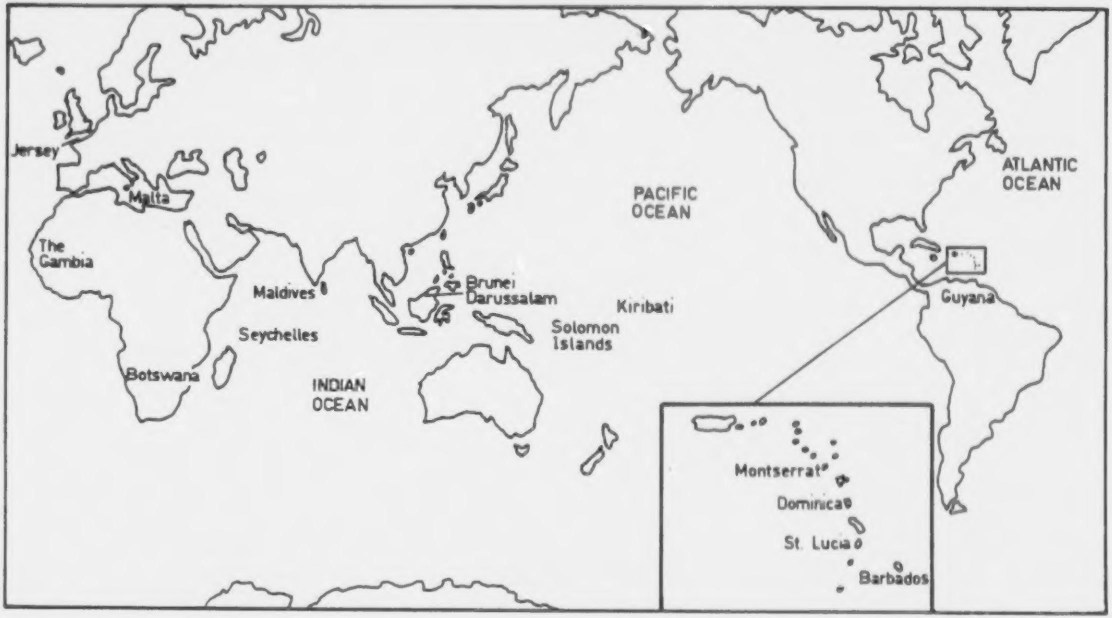
Acronyms

ACEO	Assistant Chief Education Officer
AEA	Adult Education Association
AEO	Assistant Education Officer
AIDAB	Australian International Development Assistance Bureau
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
BDD	British Development Division
BJCE	Brunei Junior Certificate of Education
BPMRU	Book Production & Material Resources Unit
CARIACT	Caribbean Institute of Applied Computer Technology
CARICOM	Caribbean Economic Community & Common Market
CARCAE	Caribbean Regional Council for Adult Education
CARNEID	Caribbean Network of Educational Innovation for Development
CATVET	Caribbean Association of Technical & Vocational Education & Training
CDB	Caribbean Development Bank
CDO	Curriculum Development Officer
CEO	Chief Education Officer
CFTC	Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CJSS	Community Junior Secondary School
CRDU	Curriculum Research & Development Unit
CTEO	Chief Technical Education Officer
CXC	Caribbean Examinations Council
DCEO	Deputy Chief Education Officer
DEO	District Education Officer
DPS	Deputy Permanent Secretary
EAC	Educational Advisory Committee
EDC	Educational Development Centre
EEC	European Economic Community
EO	Education Officer
EPADEC	Educational Planning & Development Committee
EPU	Education Planning Unit
ESCAP	Economic & Social Commission for Asia & the Pacific

GCE	General Certificate of Education
HRD	Human Resources Development
IACE	Institute of Adult & Continuing Education
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction & Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPU	Implementation & Planning Unit
KGV/EBS	King George V/Elaine Bernacci School [Kiribati]
KGVI	King George VI School [Solomon Islands]
MEHRD	Ministry of Education & Human Resources Development
MLGL	Ministry of Local Government & Lands
MFDP	Ministry of Finance & Development Planning
NCERD	National Centre for Education Resource Development
NCTEVT	National Council for Technical Education & Vocational Training
NSS	National Secondary School
NZ	New Zealand
NVTP	National Vocational Training Project
OCOD	Organization for Cooperation in Overseas Development
OECS	Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States
OPPD	Office of Physical Planning & Design
PEO	Principal Education Officer
PIU	Projects Implementation Unit
PS	Permanent Secretary
PSS	Provincial Secondary School
PSC	Public Service Commission
REO	Regional Education Officer
SAS	Senior Assistant Secretary
SBO	School Broadcasting Officer
SEAMEO	Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organisation
SEO	Senior Education Officer
SICHE	Solomon Islands College of Higher Education
SIG	Solomon Islands Government
SIMAP	Social Impact Amelioration Programme
SPBEA	South Pacific Board for Educational Assessment
SPC	South Pacific Commission
SPMG	Senior Policy-Making & Management Group
SPREP	South Pacific Regional Environment Program
TSC	Teaching Service Commission
TTI	Tarawa Technical Institute
TTC	Tarawa Teachers' College
UBBS	University of Bechuanaland, Basutoland & Swaziland
UBLS	University of Botswana, Lesotho & Swaziland
UK	United Kingdom

UNDP	United Nations Development Programmme
UNEPOC	United Nations ESCAP Pacific Operations Centre
Unesco	United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organisation
Unicef	United Nations Children's Fund
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USP	University of the South Pacific
UTS	Unified Teaching Service
UWI	University of the West Indies
UWIDITE	University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas
WAEC	West African Examinations Council
WHO	World Health Organisation


Jersey
Malta
The Gambia
Botswana
Maldives
Seychelles
INDIAN OCEAN
Brunei Darussalam
Solomon Islands
Kiribati
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Guyana
Montserrat
Dominica
St. Lucia
Barbados

Introduction

Mark Bray

This book is one of the products of a Commonwealth Secretariat project which was launched in 1989. It is a companion to a slimmer volume which was published simultaneously and is entitled *Making Small Practical: The Organisation and Management of Ministries of Education in Small States*. The companion book is structured by topic rather than by country, and it has a slightly different target audience. However, both books draw on a common body of source material.

The project's original intention was only to produce the companion work. It was subsequently decided that the studies presented here were of considerable interest, and that it would therefore be valuable to prepare this second volume. The book contains a unique body of material, which on the one hand provided much input for the companion work and on the other hand permits considerable amplification of the slimmer volume.

When preparing this book, the editor and the Commonwealth Secretariat had two main readerships in mind. The first overlaps with that intended for the companion book, namely senior managers and trainers serving educational systems in small states. It was felt that these two groups would welcome the more detailed presentation in this volume as supplementary material for their work. From the country studies readers can gain a deeper understanding of the specific organisational and managerial frameworks of a range of small states.

A second audience is the academic community concerned with education and with public administration in small states. During the 1980s a considerable literature began to emerge in both fields. The literature on education analysed the ways in which provision of education in small states differed from that in larger states, stressing both the special advantages gained by small states and the special constraints that they face. It focused on all levels and types of education, noting the diversity of small states but also identifying commonalities in the ways that small states approach the issues that confront them.

The literature on public administration had a similar focus. It was mainly concerned with the extent to which small states had inherited models of administration which were originally designed for larger states and which were of questionable appropriateness in small states. Especially during the 1980s, specialists in public administration began to search for alternative models to meet small-state needs more effectively. Although the present book focuses only on ministries of education, it has considerable relevance to the broader field of public administration.

This Introduction has six main sections, beginning with information on definitions and the contents of the book. This is followed by an account of other Commonwealth Secretariat initiatives on education in small states. The third section moves to the literature on education in small states, highlighting its growth and principal thrusts, and indicating the ways in which this book contributes to the literature. The fourth section presents a parallel account of the literature on public administration in small states. Fifthly, a comment is made on the applicability and limitations of the work; and the final section outlines points on the structure of the book.

1. Definitions and Contents

Among the first problem confronting the architects of the Commonwealth project was definition of 'small', which is of course a relative term applicable to many criteria. After some discussion, the project designers opted to follow much of the literature and take population as the main criterion. Small states were then defined as ones with populations below 1.5 million. However, it was recognised that other criteria are also important, including geographic area and size of the economy. It was also recognised that the cut-off point of 1.5 million is entirely arbitrary, and that in many circumstances it is appropriate to examine issues along a continuum of scale.

A second question concerned definition of the word 'state'. The architects of the project wished to avoid the type of debate undertaken by political scientists (see e.g. Dommen 1985), but wished nevertheless to include some non-sovereign as well as sovereign states. It was argued that the issues confronting non-sovereign states which have strong autonomy are in many ways similar to those confronting sovereign states.

Within these parameters, case studies were sought from states displaying a wide range of economic, geographic and cultural diversity. Almost all the people invited to produce case studies accepted, and the result has been a broad collection. The case studies focus on some countries which are rich, and others that are poor; some are island states while others are coastal or inland states; some are single-island while others are multi-island states; one has a population below 15,000, while another has a population over a million; and geographically, the studies are from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Europe and the South Pacific. Yet within the diversity readers will be able to discern important common threads.

Another important feature is that the studies were all written or co-authored by nationals of the small states concerned. In most cases, indeed, the authors were administrators in ministries of education, dealing on a day-to-day basis with the issues that they address. They have therefore been able to speak with authenticity and authority. Some chapters were co-authored by academics or others outside the ministries concerned. This strategy was deliberately promoted by the Commonwealth Secretariat in order to strengthen the objectivity of description and analysis.

These are the reasons why the material was earlier described as unique. Never before has such material been produced in this form; and the comparative element permitted by collection of these studies in one place means that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

2. Commonwealth Secretariat Projects in Small States

The Commonwealth has a natural concern for small states. Among its 50 sovereign members, 28 have populations below 1.5 million. The Commonwealth also embraces many small associated states and dependencies (Table 0.1).

Commonwealth concern about the particular problems faced by small states was first given formal expression at the 1977 meeting of Finance Ministers in Barbados (Georges 1985, p.1). Having noted the special characteristics of small island economies, the Ministers urged the international community to adopt a more flexible approach to the requirements of these states. Subsequently the Commonwealth Secretariat prepared a programme to assist in overcoming "the disadvantages of small size, isolation and scarce resources which severely limit the capacity of such countries to achieve their development objectives or to pursue their national interests in a wider context". This was endorsed by Commonwealth Heads of Government at their 1979 meeting in Lusaka, and was reaffirmed at their 1981 meeting in Melbourne.

Since that time, programmes for small states have been developed on specific issues. One important report focused on political and eco-

Table 0.1: Commonwealth Independent States, Associated States and Dependencies with Populations below 1.5 Million

Country/Region	Population (1988)	Country/Region	Population (1988)
Africa		Caribbean (Contd.)	
Botswana	1,164,000	British Virgin Islands	13,000
The Gambia	822,000	Cayman Islands	20,000
Mauritius	1,048,000	Montserrat	12,000
Namibia	1,262,000	Turks & Caicos Islands	10,000
Seychelles	67,000		
Swaziland	737,000	Europe	
		Cyprus	686,000
Asia		Malta	345,000
Brunei Darussalam	241,000		
Maldives	200,000	Guernsey	55,000
		Jersey	82,000
Caribbean		Gibraltar	29,000
Antigua & Barbuda	84,000	Isle of Man	64,000
Bahamas	247,000		
Barbados	255,000	South Pacific	
Belize	182,000	Kiribati	67,000
Dominica	81,000	Nauru	8,000
Grenada	102,000	Solomon Islands	304,000
Guyana	756,000	Tonga	101,000
St. Kitts & Nevis	43,000	Tuvalu	8,000
St. Lucia	143,000	Vanuatu	151,000
St. Vincent & Grenadines	122,000	Western Samoa	168,000
Trinidad & Tobago	1,241,000		
		Cook Islands	20,000
Anguilla	7,000	Niue	3,000
Bermuda	56,000	Tokelau	2,000

nomic vulnerability (Georges 1985). The specific needs of small states have also been addressed by the Management Development Programme (e.g. Commonwealth Secretariat 1989a).

The small-state activities of the Commonwealth Secretariat's Education Programme began in 1983. In that year the organisation commissioned Colin Brock of the University of Hull (UK) to undertake a survey of education in the small member states of the Commonwealth. Brock had previously worked in the Caribbean, and his existing publications included two seminal articles on small countries (Brock 1980, 1983). The findings of the commissioned survey were published in a report entitled *Scale, Isolation and Dependence: Educational Development in Island Developing and Other Specially Disadvantaged States* (Brock 1984).

The next step for the Commonwealth Secretariat was organisation of a pan-Commonwealth meeting on small states, held in Mauritius in 1985. The meeting brought together participants from small states in the Caribbean, Europe, the South Pacific, Africa and the Indian Ocean, and was the first event of its kind. Despite the wide diversity of cultures and economies in the countries represented, the meeting demonstrated that small size was a determinant of common features in the education systems (Commonwealth Secretariat 1986). One output of the project was a book edited by Kazim Bacchus and Colin Brock (1987), entitled *The Challenge of Scale*.

Since the 1985 conference, the Commonwealth Secretariat has proceeded with more specialised projects. A 1987 meeting in Fiji focused on the supply, training and professional support of educational personnel in multi-island situations (Commonwealth Secretariat 1987), and a 1988 meeting in St. Lucia focused on post-secondary colleges in small states (Commonwealth Secretariat 1988). The Secretariat also commissioned work on training of multi-functional administrators (Farrugia & Attard 1989). The project on the organisation and management of ministries of education in small states was launched in Malta in 1989 (Commonwealth Secretariat 1989b).

In parallel with these activities, the Commonwealth Secretariat has built up training and consultancy expertise on small-state issues. In the specific field of education, the Secretariat is keen to promote exchange of personnel and experiences between officers from the ministries of education of small states. Efforts are also being made to develop expertise within the Universities of Malta, the South Pacific, and the West Indies, and the Secretariat has arranged collaboration with Unesco and several other organisations.

3. The Literature on Education in Small States

(a) Development of the Literature

Study of the education systems of small states lagged behind study of economics and politics. One doctoral thesis on the topic was presented in 1972 by Harrigan. The author is a citizen of the US Virgin Islands, and the bulk of his thesis focused on that territory. However, Harrigan also made some general points. One was the suggestion (pp.2-3) that small states:

> have the potential to evolve a distinctive identity by recognition of their limitations, a reordering of their priorities and a restructuring and redesigning of their institutions.

Harrigan thus charted an important conceptual path for future studies.

Perhaps surprisingly, Harrigan's work was not followed up with further studies until the 1980s. As noted above, much of the seminal work was undertaken by Brock and by the Commonwealth Secretariat, working both separately and together.

During the same period, awareness of the specific needs of small states increased within Unesco. The Caribbean Network of Educational Innovation for Development (CARNEID), which contained a large number of small states, was established in 1981 (Berstecher 1988). Three years later Unesco opened an office in Western Samoa to serve the states of the South Pacific, the majority of which were small (Higginson 1987, p.140). In 1986 Unesco headquarters commissioned a manuscript on educational planning in small countries (Bray 1987), which was republished in revised form in 1991. Also, in 1990 small states were the focus of a round table sponsored jointly by Unesco and the Commonwealth Secretariat at an international congress in Mexico on the planning and management of educational development (Unesco 1990, pp.27-9).

In parallel, an increasing amount of work was being conducted by scholars in various universities. Bennell & Oxenham (1983), for example, prepared a paper on skills and qualifications for small states; in addition to the work already mentioned, Brock and colleagues prepared several papers on a wide range of aspects (e.g. Brock & Parker 1985; Brock & Smawfield 1988; Brock 1988a, 1988b); the British Comparative & International Education Society organised a mini conference on the topic at the end of 1984 (Brock 1985); Bray and colleagues prepared papers on Montserrat, Macau and Brunei Darussalam (Bray & Fergus 1986; Bray & Hui 1989; Attwood & Bray 1989); Atchoarena (1985, 1988a, 1988b) prepared a doctoral dissertation and various papers on the Caribbean; and Smawfield (1988) and Smith (1988) wrote doctoral theses viewing the British Virgin Islands and the Falkland Islands in the context of the small-states literature.

Education in small states was also a focus in several conferences. Special panels were organised at the 1990 and 1991 conferences of the Comparative & International Education Society in the USA, and a full conference on education in small systems was organised by the University of London Institute of Education in 1990.

(b) The Contributions of this Book

The above account shows that in recent years the field has gathered considerable momentum, to which the studies presented here add a significant element. Although they are presented from the perspective of a specialised sub-field, they also have broader implications. They confirm some points in the existing literature, but add details and depth. While it is impossible here to draw out all aspects, it is at least useful to highlight a few.

One area of contribution is to comprehension of the processes of educational planning in small states. This was a specific focus of work by Atchoarena (1989, 1990), Bray (1987, 1990b, 1991) and Packer (1990), and has also been touched on by other authors. The studies presented here stress the constraints imposed by small size on operating full, specialised planning units. The ministries in Kiribati, Dominica and Jersey do not have specialised planning units at all, instead requiring planning to be carried out as a collective function by a team of senior staff. The other states do have planning units, but they are in all cases small and restricted in scope.

Likewise, it is difficult for the ministries to undertake the related tasks of research and evaluation. As noted in the chapter on Dominica, although policy-makers can learn from research in other countries, foreign studies are often a poor substitute for local ones. The Botswana, Brunei Darussalam and Guyana chapters highlight the value of a local university, and the ministry in Barbados benefits from the local campus of the University of the West Indies. However, the other countries examined in this book have neither universities nor regional campuses.

A related point may be made about curriculum development. The chapters presented here indicate that some formal machinery exists for curriculum development in every state except Jersey; but in several cases that machinery is very limited. In Montserrat, for example, the curriculum development unit consists of just one person; and in Kiribati the unit has only four people. Other ministries have larger units, but then encounter major problems of cost, recruitment, and balance of personnel within the organisation as a whole. It is particularly worth noting the situation in The Gambia, where the ministry did have a large curriculum unit but was advised to cut it down and to deploy curriculum developers as general managers rather than specialists.

Allied to this point is another about textbooks. Several authors in the broader literature have pointed out that small states lack both the personnel to produce books and the economies of scale necessary to justify large-scale production (e.g. Conroy 1982, p.59; Bray & Hui 1989, p.139; Fergus 1991, p.10). This feature was also noted in several of the case studies. For example, the chapters on Dominica, Guyana and Montserrat indicated that, particularly at the secondary level, their education systems are dependent on books developed for the Caribbean as a whole or for other parts of the world. However, the Solomon

Islands chapter shows that much can still be done when ministry personnel set their minds to it. During the 1980s major strides were made in development of materials for Solomon Islands schools.

Another feature concerns the international aspects of educational provision. For example, many chapters highlight the role in education of both regional and broader international bodies. They point out that these bodies provide access to skills and services which would otherwise be lacking, but that they also impose constraints on flexibility and can make serious manpower demands. In these observations the country studies substantiate many remarks in the existing literature (e.g. Taufe'ulungaki 1987; Higginson 1987; Brock 1988b; Jones 1989).

The chapters also highlight the role of international aid for small states. Many authors in the existing literature (e.g. UNCTAD Secretariat 1985; Connell 1986; Goodridge & Peters 1987) have pointed out that in general small states receive higher per capita allocations of foreign aid than do larger states. Several chapters discuss the advantages and disadvantages of this situation, noting that aid can be of great assistance, but also that it can create serious distortions.

A further aspect concerns arrangement for examinations. Brock & Smawfield (1988, p.229) highlight the pressures on small states to secure accreditation which is recognised in the wider world. The countries covered in this book indicate diversity in the ways that they may do this. Barbados, Dominica, Guyana and Montserrat are members of the Caribbean Examinations Council; Jersey is largely tied to UK examinations; Solomon Islands is a member of the South Pacific Board for Educational Assessment; The Gambia is a member of the West African Examinations Council; and both Seychelles and Brunei Darussalam use the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate. This is an instructive array of strategies for dealing with a common problem.

Finally, it is worth quoting Brock (1988b, p.312), who concluded one of his papers with the observation that:

> Whatever the eventual answers to the problems of educational provision in small states might be, they will the more likely be found if there is much more research both into particular and general issues in this field. This means more in-depth case-studies of individual systems as well as more comparative analysis across the numerous range of small states.

It is in such a spirit that this book has been produced. It is perhaps especially valuable because it has developed from the small states themselves rather than from large states.

4. The Literature on Public Administration in Small States

(a) Development of the Literature

The literature on public administration in small states first began to develop earlier than that on education, in the mid-1960s. This was the period in which significant numbers of small states began to achieve sovereignty, and questions were raised about the role and voting powers of such states in the United Nations. Various branches of the United Nations undertook specialist studies of small states, one of which included specific focus on public administration (Rapoport et al. 1971).

However, this particular episode of interest in small states within the United Nations was not longlasting. No action was taken to modify voting rights, and concern about the special development issues confronting small states gradually subsided. A few important publications on the administration of small states did appear in the academic world during the 1970s (e.g. Jacobs 1975; Jones 1976; Murray 1977), but it was not until the 1980s that the literature began to develop in a substantial way.

Much of the seminal work of the 1980s appeared in the journal *Public Administration and Development*. It began with a general article by Murray (1981), which formed the basis for a series of more specific case studies. Hope (1983) and Kersell (1987, 1988, 1989, 1990) wrote about the Commonwealth Caribbean, and others focused on Niue (Thynne 1981), St. Helena (Gillett 1983), Tuvalu (Tisdell & Fairbairn 1983) and Fiji (Baker 1990).

Other works which deserve specific mention are Allan (1980) which focused on both the Pacific and Indian Oceans, Barrett (1986) which concentrated on the Caribbean, and Ghai (1990) which was principally concerned with the South Pacific. Also, a 1985 paper by Murray extended his 1981 work with particular reference to the South Pacific.

(b) The Contributions of this Book

Perhaps the strongest point to emerge from this book is that despite the increased awareness of the need to adapt conventional models of public administration to small states, many bureaucracies still have a long way to go. Several case studies portray administrative structures which are clumsy and inefficient, and which are unduly constrained by inherited traditions and models. Of course traditions cannot and should not be jettisoned overnight. But there is clearly a need for more flexibility and imagination in at least some of the bureaucracies described here. On the other hand, and more positively, there is also some evidence of adaptation from which others can learn. In this respect, the book extends the work of Murray (1981, 1985) and others. It is instructive, for example, to see the ways that some ministries group functions at both macro and micro levels. At the macro level, most multi-faceted ministries group education with such closely-related functions as culture, sports, youth and community affairs; but some ministries group education with such less closely-related functions as health, postal services and ecclesiastical affairs. When carefully managed, multi-functional grouping permits more efficient use of personnel, and promotes linkages between sectors.

The same principle applies at the micro level. Almost all chapters discuss ways in which tasks are grouped to cover priority needs and make best use of available expertise. Many chapters also highlight ways that small ministries make use of personnel who are not actually in the ministries themselves. Such personnel include school principals and teachers, who help for example in curriculum development and teacher appraisal. These perspectives support an observation by the Commonwealth Secretariat (quoted in Brock 1988b, p.306) that:

> Governments in small countries may need to encourage a concept of professional which differs from that prevailing in large countries. In the latter, professional 'standards' involve depth rather than breadth. But small states do not need specialized individuals who have a great deal of knowledge which is inapplicable to conditions at home and who think in terms of international salary levels. They certainly need the best; but in small countries the 'best' may sometimes be defined in terms of flexibility and breadth rather than depth.

The case studies also support the observations by Murray (1981, 1985), Richards (1982) and Sutton (1987) that political and bureaucratic roles are likely to be intertwined much more closely in small states than in large ones. The Jersey case study makes this point strongly, suggesting that "small state politicians know -- and want to know -- a great deal about the activities of the bureaucracy", and noting that in larger systems bureaucrats are able to build stronger 'protective' procedures which create some distance between them and politicians. The Brunei Darussalam and Maldives case studies also cite instances of individuals who were both bureaucrats and politicians. In Brunei Darussalam the Minister is also Vice Chancellor of the University, and in Maldives the Director of Educational Services is also a Member of Parliament.

Another area in which the case studies seem to recommend a departure from conventional doctrines on public administration concerns job definition and recruitment. As pointed out by Murray (1985, p.193), conventional doctrine asserts that administrators should begin by defining needs, should then proceed to define jobs, and only in the third step should seek individuals to fill those jobs. Any other procedure, it is argued, risks inefficient and unbalanced administration in which individuals are given jobs simply because they are available and have the necessary influence.

However, the case studies here stress the difficulties arising from the need to recruit from a small pool of expertise. Several chapters argue for a more flexible recruitment procedure in which authorities identify talented potential recruits and then ask how such people could be used to contribute to the goals of the organisation. Viewed from the perspective of small states, defining jobs around the talents of specific individuals seems much less inappropriate than it might seem when viewed from the perspective of larger states.

Such procedures also have implications for the organisation chart as a whole. In many small states, organisation charts are constantly changed to accommodate new individuals. Viewed from the perspective of conventional public administration doctrine, this seems a weakness. But if the charts are being adjusted to fit the changing patterns of human resource availability, then it would be inappropriate not to change them. Once again, the idea of a fixed chart with lots of boxes into which individuals are made to fit is a concept which may be more appropriate in a large state than a small one. Flexibility and even frequent change of organisation charts may in some circumstances be a strength rather than a weakness.

The book has also placed considerable stress on the managerial strategies needed in small states. Almost all chapters stress the need for managers to take account of the highly personalised nature of small states in which individuals have multiple connections outside the workplace as well as within it, and in which everyone seems to know everyone else. These aspects have been addressed in the existing literature (e.g. Richards 1982; Sutton 1987; Farrugia & Attard 1989), but the examples presented in this book extend and elaborate on previous perceptions. One aspect concerns the different strategies for staff appraisal needed in small states, and another concerns the strategies for dealing with constrained promotion hierarchies.

A further point concerns levels of informality and formality. People in large states might assume that the interpersonal networks of small states permit greater informality in decision-making and other management. However, several case studies point out that in order to protect themselves from rumours and unfair accusations administrators in small states often have to pay *more* attention to rules and regulations, and have to be seen to 'go by the book'. This may be linked with what Lowenthal (1987, p.38) called the need for 'managed intimacy' in small states.

As they go through the rest of the book, readers will doubtless identify further ways in which the book extends and elaborates on the existing literature. Space constraints prevent exhaustive identification here of all points of contact significance. Instead, this section will close with a quotation which parallels the one that ended the section on education in small states. This quotation is from the literature review prepared by Schahczenski (1990, p.79):

> Small developing states may share unique social, political and administrative characteristics that are as potentially conducive for development as would be the adoption of externally developed modes of 'modernisation'. Unfortunately the current research on the administrative problems of the small developing state has not provided the kind of comparative research that would be useful for discovering these shared developmental possibilities.

It is hoped that the studies presented in this book will meet at least part of what Schahczenski had in mind.

5. Applicability and Limitations

Small states are of course a very diverse group. Although for this project population was taken as the principal criterion of scale, it was noted above that other criteria are also important. Moreover, a state which is small on one criterion is not necessarily small on the others. Although all the states covered in this book have populations below 1.5 million, their territorial areas range from 103 square kilometres in Montserrat to 581,630 square kilometres in Botswana. Likewise, the size of GNP (1988) ranges from US$43.5 million in Kiribati to US$4,097 million in Brunei Darussalam.

Readers should also bear in mind other aspects of diversity. The culture and history of Malta is very different from that of The Gambia; the geographical isolation of Seychelles is very different from the clustering of states in the Caribbean; and the multi-island archipelago in Solomon Islands presents major administrative challenges not found in such compact states as Barbados and Jersey. All this diversity must of course be borne in mind when attempting to make general observations.

A further matter of which readers should beware when making comparisons is that specific terms may have different meanings in different countries. One example is the Chief Education Officer (CEO). According to the Caribbean tradition, individual ministries have only one CEO whose post has evolved from what used to be the Director of Education, and who is generally considered the chief professional in the ministry (Goodridge 1985). It appears from the Kiribati chapter that a similar interpretation is valid there. However, the ministry in Botswana has four CEOs and one Chief Technical Education Officer. It seems that in Botswana the term CEO is used for posts which would elsewhere be designated Senior Education Officer (SEO).

Similar comments apply to the post of Under Secretary. In Botswana the title is reserved for the head of the administrative branch, and the Under Secretary in the Ministry of Education has counterparts with similar titles in other ministries in the government. In Solomon Islands, by contrast, the title is used in the ministry of education for the two people below the rank of Permanent Secretary. One of these people is responsible for the administration wing, but the other is responsible for the education wing.

Nevertheless, commonalities are also clearly evident, both in terminology and in the basic shape of bureaucracies. Many of these features arise from the common colonial heritage, and the lessons to be drawn from the case studies are also generally applicable to the other Commonwealth small states.

Moreover, since almost all states use bureaucratic forms which are heavily influenced by Western models and traditions, to some extent the lessons to be drawn from the case studies also have strong applicability in non-Commonwealth small states. Of course there are significant differences between, for example, British and French bureaucratic legacies. For instance the French colonial style is generally characterised as more centralised, with stronger emphasis on standardisation between territories (Harris 1990, p.55). However, it seems likely that comparison of the types of problems faced by educational administrators in ex-British and ex-French colonies would reveal more similarities than differences.

A related point concerns ministry functions. Although this book is solely concerned with ministries of education, it seems probable that many of its lessons are applicable to other ministries. Taylor's (1990) article on the administration of health in the small states of the South Pacific shows considerable overlap with the types of concern raised here; and many points of contact may be identified with the broadly-focused work of Murray (1981, 1985). In all small ministries the basic

basic questions include ways to group functions to make best use of scarce talents, ways to train officers for multi-functional roles, strategies for effective management in a highly personalised society, etc..

However, it must also be recognised that in most countries Education is among the largest ministries. Because of this, the impact of small scale documented and analysed here is not as extreme as in other ministries. It would be highly desirable to conduct a similar survey of the smaller ministries in the countries presented here. Perhaps the pair of books prepared under the Commonwealth project can act as a model and inspiration both for an investigation of this kind and for a comparative survey in non-Commonwealth states.

6. Structure of the Book

The 14 country studies in the book could have been presented in many different orders. For instance they could have been presented most simply in alphabetical order. Alternatively, they could have been presented in ascending order of population size, of area or of GNP. Or thirdly, they could have been grouped by their geographical location in the world.

After some consideration, the last of these was chosen. It has the merit of permitting some countries with common cultures and historical circumstances to be presented as a group. This is most obvious in the Caribbean, though also applies in some degree to the other groupings. However, for the sake of neutrality the alphabet was still used, first for the listing of geographic regions and then for the presentation of countries within each region.

Yet even this set of groupings fails to capture some points of commonality. For instance Seychelles is situated in the Indian Ocean, and in geography perhaps has more in common with Maldives than with Botswana and The Gambia. Also, the circumstances faced by Montserrat and Seychelles, which are among the smallest of the small, are qualitatively rather different from Guyana and Botswana which are much larger. These points emphasise that no grouping is perfect, and readers should bear such considerations in mind when going through the chapters.

Finally, it is perhaps necessary to explain one of the group of statistical indicators which precedes each case study, namely the Human Development Index. Although the index is increasingly used to supplement such conventional ones as per capita GNP, it may not be familiar to all readers. The index is based on average life expectancy, adult literacy, and the power to buy commodities for satisfying basic needs. The index seeks to avoid the problems of GNP figures, which do not adequately account for either national differences in purchasing power or the distorting effects of official exchange rates. The index places countries on a scale of zero (worst off) to one (best off). For more detailed explanation of the construction and interpretation of the index, readers are referred to UNDP (1990, pp.13-15).

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Part I: Africa

Chapter 1: Botswana

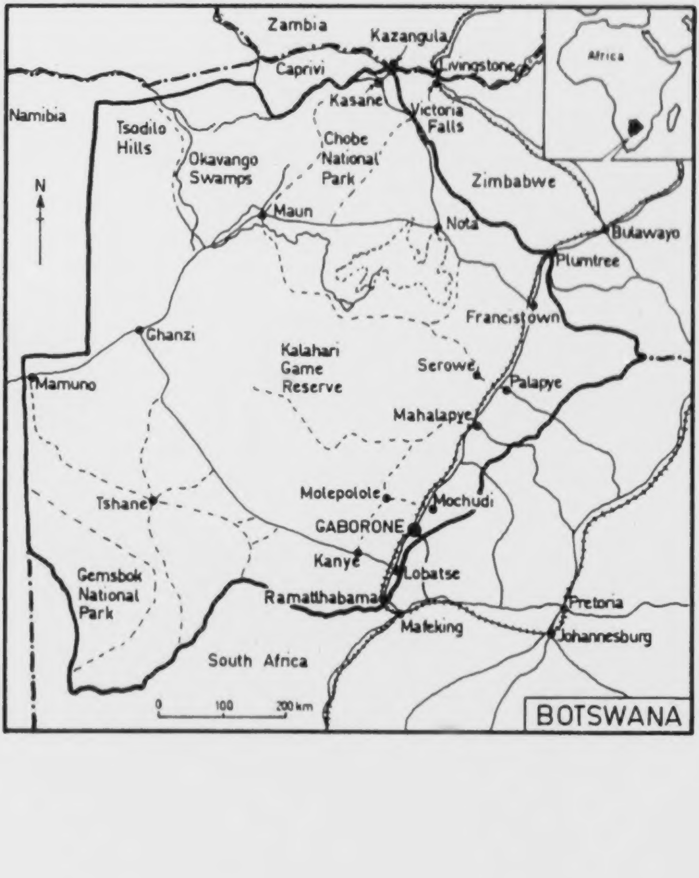
Jakes Swartland

Population (1988): 1,164,000
Population Growth Rate (1980-88): 3.3% per annum
Land Area: 581,630 square kilometres
Capital: Gaborone
GNP per Capita (1987): US$1,040
Year of Independence: 1966
Primary School Enrolment Rate (1988): 85%
Human Development Index (1988): 0.646

Although Botswana has a small population, it has a vast area. This makes it very different from the other countries examined in this book. The population is spread unevenly with concentrations in the east and especially south east, but Botswana's overall population density is just two persons per square kilometre.

During the colonial era, Botswana was known as Bechuanaland. The territory became a British protectorate in 1885, and was administered as one of the High Commission Territories in southern Africa. The other two territories were Basutoland (now Lesotho) and Swaziland. Within Bechuanaland, gradual progress was made towards self-government, mainly through nominated advisory bodies. A new constitution was introduced in 1960, and a Legislative Council first met the following year. Bechuanaland was made independent of High Commission rule in 1963, and the office of High Commissioner was abolished in 1964. The country gained full independence in 1966.

At the time of independence, Botswana was one of the poorest countries in Africa. Since then, the government has achieved at least some of its goals of economic growth and sustained development. With


Zambia
Kazangula
Caprivi
Livingstone
Kasane
Victoria Falls
Namibia
Tsodilo Hills
Okavango Swamps
Chobe National Park
Zimbabwe
Africa
N
Maun
Nota
Bulawayo
Plumtree
Francistown
Ghanzi
Kalahari Game Reserve
Serowe
Mamuno
Palapye
Mahalapye
Molepolole
Mochudi
Tshane
GABORONE
Kanye
Lobatse
Gemsbok National Park
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BOTSWANA

a semi-arid climate subject to periodic drought, Botswana is not well suited to agriculture. The economy has traditionally been based on the nomadic herding of livestock and the cultivation of subsistence crops. Since the 1970s, however, mineral deposits have made a major contribution to GNP. In addition to established extraction of diamonds, copper-nickel and coal, there are also deposits of asbestos, chromite, manganese and many other minerals. It was estimated that between 1980 and 1987 real GNP per head increased at an average annual rate of 9 per cent. This was the second highest growth rate among all the countries of the world for which data are available over the period.

Botswana is one of the few countries in Africa with a multi-party democracy. Legislative power is vested in the National Assembly, which has 36 members. Executive power is vested in the President, who is elected by the Assembly for its duration. He appoints and leads a Cabinet, which includes 11 ministers and three assistant ministers.

Local government is effected through nine District Councils and four Town Councils. These Councils hold important responsibilities, including the provision of rural health facilities, welfare services, water supplies, roads, and primary education. Each District Administration, which represents central government at District level, is headed by a District Commissioner. As will become clear in this chapter, the structure of local government has important implications for the administration of education.

1. Educational Development

The chief educational challenges facing the government are to extend basic education to all, and to reduce inequalities in opportunity between different groups and localities. At the same time, the high rate of economic growth has led to widespread shortages of trained manpower for the modern sector of the economy. Equity ideals confer priority on the quantity and quality of basic education, but manpower needs and the demands of the people create pressures to expand secondary and higher education.

The period since Independence has brought remarkable expansion of education (Table 1.1). Between 1966 and 1988 primary enrolments increased 3.5 times, and secondary enrolments increased 26.3 times! It is estimated that around 85 per cent of the primary school aged population is now in school, and over a third of the primary school leavers gain access to secondary schools. Transition rates have also improved at the post-secondary level.

Table 1.1: Expansion of Education, Botswana, 1966-88

	Primary		Secondary			
			Government/Aided		*Private/CJSS*	
Year	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1966	251	74,500	9	1,530	-	-
1976	335	125,600	15	9,560	15	4,380
1980	415	171,900	22	13,420	16	4,900
1983	502	198,300	22	15,680	20	7,120
1988	559	261,350	23	19,060	50	21,300

Note: CJSS = Community Junior Secondary Schools
Source: Planning Unit, Ministry of Education.

In spite of these achievements, however, much remains to be done. The objective of universal access to primary education is yet to be achieved, and post-primary education is still not available to the majority of primary school leavers. The government aspires to provide universal access to nine years of basic education by the mid-1990s. It is also anxious to maintain and improve the quality of education.

Botswana has had local provision of tertiary education since the foundation of the University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland & Swaziland (UBBS) in 1964. The name of this institution changed in 1966, using the names that the constituent countries adopted on the achievement of independence, and became the University of Botswana, Lesotho & Swaziland (UBLS). In 1975 Lesotho nationalised its campus, thus leaving only Botswana and Swaziland together. Finally this partnership also ended, leading in 1982 to the formation of separate the Universities of Botswana and of Swaziland. Today the University of Botswana has nearly 2,000 students, and operates Faculties of Education, Humanities, Science and Social Sciences.

One final feature of the education system which requires explanation here is the system of brigades. These institutions aim to provide a form of vocational training in such skills as building, carpentry, motor mechanics and farming at the post-primary level. The first brigade was set up at Swaneng Hill in 1965, after which the institutions became a significant part of the system. The brigades are administered through a specific section of the Ministry of Education.

2. The Ministry of Education

(a) Structure

The structure of the Ministry of Education of course changes from time to time. This chapter chiefly refers to the structure existing in 1988.

An organisation chart of the Ministry headquarters is shown in Figure 1.1. At the apex are the Minister and the Permanent Secretary, with the latter being assisted by the Deputy Permanent Secretary. Including teachers, the Ministry has over 10,000 employees. This is almost twice as many as any other ministry, and the Ministry of Education is the largest employing organisation in the country.

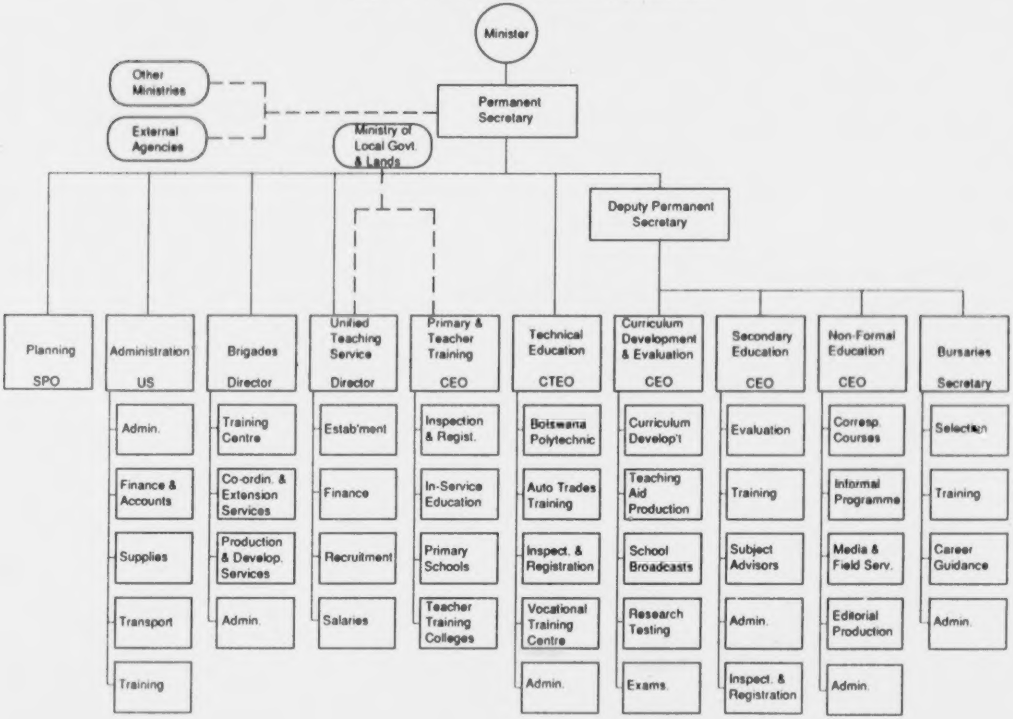
The 10 Departments in the Ministry are responsible for:

- Planning,
- Administration,
- Brigades,
- the Unified Teaching Service (UTS),
- Primary Education & Teacher Training,
- Technical Education,
- Curriculum Development & Evaluation,
- Secondary Education,
- Non-Formal Education, and
- Bursaries.

The titles of the department heads reflect the nature of their jobs. Four of the professional departments are headed by Chief Education Officers (CEOs), and one is headed by a Chief Technical Education Officer (CTEO). The Unified Teaching Service, which is responsible for the management and administration of teachers, is headed by a Director. The Administration Department is headed by an Under Secretary (US). This title is used for the administration branches of all ministries in the government. Of course the distinction between administrative and professional work is to some extent arbitrary, for the CEOs also do a great deal of administration. However, the Ministry of Education has retained the nomenclature of Under Secretary for this particular branch.

Several other systems documented in this book have only one CEO. In Barbados and Dominica, for example, the title is reserved for the head of the professional wing. The fact that Botswana has five CEOs partly reflects expansion of the sector, which has caused each CEO to have responsibilities approximately equivalent to those of the old-style

Figure 1.1: The Ministry of Education, Botswana


Minister
Other Ministries
External Agencies
Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Local Govt. & Lands
Deputy Permanent Secretary
Planning
SPO
Administration
US
Admin.
Finance & Accounts
Supplies
Transport
Training
Brigades
Director
Training Centre
Co-ordin. & Extension Services
Production & Develop. Services
Admin.
Unified Teaching Service
Director
Estab'ment
Finance
Recruitment
Salaries
Primary & Teacher Training
CEO
Inspection & Regist.
In-Service Education
Primary Schools
Teacher Training Colleges
Technical Education
CTEO
Botswana Polytechnic
Auto Trades Training
Inspect. & Registration
Vocational Training Centre
Admin.
Curriculum Development & Evaluation
CEO
Curriculum Develop't
Teaching Aid Production
School Broadcasts
Research Testing
Exams.
Secondary Education
CEO
Evaluation
Training
Subject Advisors
Admin.
Inspect. & Registration
Non-Formal Education
CEO
Corresp. Courses
Informal Programme
Media & Field Serv.
Editorial Production
Admin.
Bursaries
Secretary
Selection
Training
Career Guidance
Admin.

CEO. In other systems comparable officers might be called Senior Education Officers rather than Chief Education Officers.

During the mid-1980s there was pressure to create another Deputy Permanent Secretary post to balance the system and to reduce the work of the Permanent Secretary. For some time this was resisted by the Department of Public Service Management, which considered the responsibility load insufficient to justify the additional post. However, in 1990 an additional Deputy Permanent Secretary post was created, permitting redistribution and regrouping of responsibilities at the top.

(b) Organisational Evolution

In order to understand the nature of the Ministry, it is important to appreciate the way in which it has evolved since Independence. The original role and scope of the Ministry was much narrower than at present. At Independence the Department of Education formed part of the Ministry of Labour & Social Service. This was changed in 1967, when it became part of the Ministry of Education, Health & Labour. A separate Ministry of Education was created in 1970. The administrative change reflected the strong emphasis on education and the considerable planned growth.

The scale and speed of expansion placed great strain on the Ministry, which was short of staff and had little time to consider goals and policies to improve the quality and content of education. Moreover, the size of the Ministry failed to keep pace with the growth of its responsibilities. Severe criticism from many quarters made clear the need for a thorough review of the education system.

A National Commission on Education was appointed in 1975 to undertake this review. The Commission's report, submitted in 1977, was entitled *Education for Kagisano*. The word *kagisano* was taken from the Tswana language, and incorporates the principles of social harmony, justice, interdependence and mutual assistance. The report included a specific section on the organisation of the Ministry.

Following receipt of this report, the government redefined the objectives and priorities for Education. Of direct relevance to the organisation of the Ministry was the establishment in 1978 of Departments of Curriculum Development & Evaluation and of Non-Formal Education. However, the continued growth of the system also had major implications for the operation of the Ministry. The structure existing in the late 1980s remained in many respects unsatisfactory.

(c) Structural Problems

The structure of the Ministry has evolved in an *ad hoc* manner as a result of evolutionary growth. One aspect in which this is obvious is in the grouping of functions. Despite the official lines of authority, both 'professional' and 'service' functions are under the responsibility of the Deputy Permanent Secretary. This is partly a result of the philosophies and the experience of the individuals concerned. The Permanent Secretary feels that all department heads should be sufficiently knowledgeable on professional matters, and that it should not be necessary to bother him. Therefore, whenever the heads need advice on professional issues they tend to consult the Deputy Permanent Secretary, who has wide experience on professional as well as administrative matters. His previous job was Chief Education Officer in charge of curriculum development and evaluation.

While this situation is workable, the main problem is that up to seven department heads report directly to one organisational action point. Since the Deputy Permanent Secretary also has to act during the frequent and lengthy absence of the Permanent Secretary on official business, his impact and effectiveness as a coordinator and controller of professional functions is seriously reduced.

Additional problems are that:

- Although the Brigades are have a strong technical bias, they are administered separately from the Department of Technical Education.
- Bursaries are more for 'support and service' than for purely professional matters, and it is questionable if they are correctly placed under the Deputy Permanent Secretary, who is theoretically responsible for professional matters.
- Although Technical Education is a professional matter, it has been placed directly under the Permanent Secretary.
- The combination of Primary Education and Teacher Training made sense when the two components were small and when teacher training was only for the primary schools. However, it is is no longer desirable, first because the department is now very large, and second because the coverage of teacher training now extends into the secondary sector.

Expanding on the last point, a 1986 analysis of functional loads indicated that the head of this department carried 20 per cent of the total functions of the Ministry. This was far greater than that of any other officer. The department is very much aware of this problem, and has proposed that a separate Department of Teacher Training be established. The new department would then coordinate and control the teacher education undertaken by Teacher Training Colleges for primary teachers, Teacher Training Colleges for junior secondary teachers, the Faculty of Education at the University of Botswana for senior secondary teachers, and the Botswana Polytechnic for teachers of technical subjects.

On the other hand, problems already arise in the division of labour between the teacher training section and the Department of the Unified Teaching Service (UTS). These problems would not be solved by the creation of a separate Department of Teacher Training. The Department of the UTS is responsible for the employment of teachers, and for their recruitment, placement and development. Although for historical reasons it has developed separately from the Teacher Training section, it would be logical to link the two functions more closely.

It would also be desirable to avoid the overlap inherent in the fact that the Department of UTS has responsibility for the maintenance of high standards among teachers, while supervision and inspection of teachers in schools is undertaken by the Education Officers of either the Department of Primary Education & Teacher Training or the Department of Secondary Education.

A further potential source of conflict arises from the role and status of the Planning Unit. This unit is staffed by professionals with expertise in data analysis, forecasting and cost analysis. However, all department heads should be actively involved in analysing relevant trends, interpreting government policies, considering what resources are needed, and exploring alternative courses of action. Planning is not seen as a specialised technical activity that should be left exclusively to the Planning Unit, and the overlap of roles has sometimes led to tension.

3. Manpower and Personnel

The overlaps and shortcomings arising from structural deficiencies are particularly problematic for a small country short of qualified manpower. It is true that they have arisen primarily for historical reasons and cannot easily be avoided, but it seems highly desirable to put more effort into rationalisation.

Meanwhile, though, it is useful to note one positive strategy through which the Ministry does improve use of some scarce human resources. Most department heads have had varied careers within and sometimes also outside the education system. The Chief Education Officer in charge of primary education and teacher training, for example, might have some knowledge of secondary education through previous experience as a Senior Education Officer at that level. Recognising this, the top managers harness experience through committees. For instance, the working committee on Improving Access to Secondary Education incorporates the CEO (Nonformal Education), the Director (Unified Teaching Service) and the CEO (Primary & Teacher Training) as well as the CEO (Secondary). Although the present jobs of these individuals may be unrelated to the task at hand, their previous experiences are valuable. Especially in a small ministry, expertise is too scarce to be wasted by strict adherence to job descriptions.

The above example also highlights the fact that individual promotion paths are not restricted to previous avenues. While there are dangers in promoting a Senior Education Officer from one sector to become a Chief Education Officer in another, the practice does encourage integration. Perhaps even more important, it expands the prospects for promotion in what would otherwise be a very tight system. There is also considerable movement between ministries, especially from the rank of department head to Under Secretary and Deputy Permanent Secretary.

However, it remains true that the small size of the ministry limits the prospects of some officers, which leads to frustration. One result is that individuals try to upgrade their existing posts by inflating their levels of responsibility and/or job descriptions. This is another reason for the large number of CEOs.

Awareness of manpower constraints has also led to decisions to merge certain functions, and not to undertake others at all. For example special education is included in the primary education division. Less attention is given to special education than might be desired, but for the time being it is difficult to meet all needs. Likewise, although Botswana sets its own examinations up to the Junior Certificate level, at higher levels it still uses the University of Cambridge Overseas Examination Syndicate. As well as conserving on manpower in a small system, this arrangement provides benefits of credibility and external recognition.

A final point relates to the culture of the ministry. In a small society where everybody knows everybody else, personalities have a strong impact on the operation of the organisation. A junior officer who knows that it is difficult to get advice or help from a department head who employs a 'closed-door' management style may turn to another head who is known to be more willing to listen. In this way, the junior officer hopes that messages will get across to the head when the two senior officers meet either formally or informally. This has happened on many occasion on matters needing the attention of either the Permanent Secretary or the Deputy Permanent Secretary. It illustrates the point that lines of communication as depicted on the organisation chart may not be adhered to strictly. On many occasions officers cross lines of communication to consult, according to the nature of the problem and the personalities concerned.

4. Inter-Ministry Cooperation

One of the most prominent areas of inter-ministry cooperation is with the Ministry of Local Government & Lands (MLGL). The Community Development Officers employed by this ministry are responsible for pre-primary education. The MLGL is also responsible for primary education at the district level, and works closely with the Ministry of Education in ways described below. The important liaison role of the MLGL is reflected in the dotted line linking it with the Ministry of Education in Figure 1.1.

Another area of cooperation is with the Ministry of Finance & Development Planning (MFDP), which is the formal employer of staff in the Planning Unit. The MFDP also employs comparable planning staff in other ministries. In some cases the dual loyalties of these officers leads to conflict, but in the Ministry of Education relationships have generally been harmonious. Placement of MFDP officers in the various ministries helps strengthen linkages in the administration as a whole.

While the types of linkage with the MLGL and the MFDP may be found in large as well as small states, another linkage is worth mentioning because it is characteristic only of small states. This is the arrangement for preparation of education statistics, which is primarily done by the Central Statistics Office. This arrangement has the strong benefit of making use of scarce professional expertise, and of effecting economies of scale in a way that is difficult in small states. However, as noted in the 1977 Report of the National Commission on Education, the arrangement can have a problematic aspect. The Report noted that the range and quality of education statistics was very impressive, but pointed out that, perhaps because the statistics were collected by an external unit, they were very little used within the Ministry itself. Since that time usage has improved; but the Commission's observation and warning is still worth bearing in mind.

A further form of cooperation is with the Ministry of Works &

Communication. All government construction is undertaken by this ministry, but when the Ministry of Education embarked on massive expansion of secondary education in the early 1980s it was considered necessary to establish a unit to coordinate construction of the community junior secondary schools. The unit was created under a World Bank project which provided most of the funds. Although the unit was supposed to be temporary, it is still in existence. The Ministry of Works & Communication would like to transfer it to their ministry, but the Ministry of Education has resisted this move.

A final form of cooperation is with the University. Although some research is undertaken within the Ministry, particularly by the Planning Unit and the Department of Curriculum Development & Evaluation, the Ministry has no Research Unit *per se*. In this respect Botswana is fortunate to have its own university, the staff of which undertake many important research projects. Cooperation is not only with the Faculty of Education but also with the National Institute of Development Research & Documentation.

5. Decentralisation of Functions

Although Botswana has a small population, for the geographic reasons noted at the beginning of this chapter it is necessary to operate a system with a high degree of decentralisation. Even in a much larger system the manpower demands of decentralisation would be prominent. They are especially obvious in a system which is both small and short of well-qualified professional staff.

The primary education system is based on the principle of partnership between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Local Government & Lands. The latter delegates responsibility for the day-to-day management of primary schools to local authorities. However, the Ministry of Education has retained national responsibility for integration and coordination of professional standards, and has legal power to control the education system through the appointment of teachers, through inspection and if necessary through closure of schools.

The Department of Primary Education & Teacher Training has 35 Senior Education Officers (SEOs), Education Officers (EOs) and Assistant Education Officers (AEOs) based in the districts and sub-districts. The role of these officers is to maintain and raise professional education standards in primary education. The Ministry of Education and the MLGL have set out in some detail the respective functions at local level for the Education Officers and Education Secretaries, and given this information wide publicity. The relationship at District level appears to work satisfactorily.

The Department of Secondary Education has 16 SEOs or EOs. These staff are not based in the Districts, and the Ministry is concerned that with the expansion in secondary education the span of control (by 1988 over 73 schools) will become too wide for the existing operations centralised in Headquarters. To ensure efficient management and the effective use of resources, a programme to decentralise the administrative and professional support services has been initiated.

The UTS is presently centralised, with the MLGL Education Secretaries acting as local agents for teaching personnel matters. While the UTS *em*ploys teachers directly it *de*ploys them through the Education Secretaries. Also, transfers and promotions are normally made with the agreement of local councils. This working arrangement avoids the need to appoint a separate cadre of field personnel officers for the UTS, which conserves on scarce manpower, keeps costs down, and reduces the problems of coordination. The UTS has spelled out in some detail the roles and responsibilities of Education Secretaries and the arrangements for cooperation and consultation with Education Officers, Education Committees and the UTS itself.

Nevertheless there is considerable concern that the Education Secretaries can be occupied for 50 per cent of their time on personnel matters relating to teachers, at the expense of their other responsibilities. This situation has arisen as a result of the growth in the number of teachers, with a corresponding increase in the number of routine duties (casualty returns, salary queries, leave applications, etc.) that have to be undertaken.

On the other hand the Ministry is aware that it cannot implement education policies properly unless it has the full cooperation of all those at the local level, i.e. teachers, Parent-Teachers' Associations, and officials of the District and Town Councils particularly the Education Secretaries. This is especially important where matters relate to the appointment, posting, transfer, promotion and disciplinary control of teachers. It is also applicable to nonformal education, administration of which is similarly decentralised.

6. Conclusions

Although the population of Botswana is small, it is larger than that of the other countries covered in this book. This is reflected in the structure and size of the Ministry of Education, which has many specialist branches. Botswana also benefits from having a university of its own, which has a Faculty of Education able to undertake many research and other projects of benefit to the education sector.

However, the Ministry of Education is still constrained by small size. The vast area of the country has created a need for a decentralised system which has a high human resource cost to a small system. The manpower constraints are exacerbated by the youth of the system and the continued shortage of well-qualified professionals. Moreover, even though the Ministry is relatively large it still has no units for research, pre-school education or special education.

This chapter has also highlighted problems arising from overlap of functions between various departments. This overlap has arisen primarily for historical reasons. It has created considerable friction, and has wasted resources in a way that a small, manpower-scarce system can ill afford. The problem has been reduced through constitution *of ad hoc* working groups for specific topics, but needs to be addressed in a more fundamental way.

Nevertheless, in conclusion it is also worth quoting one further observation of the 1977 Report of the National Commission on Education. This is that "the key to effectiveness lies as much in the area of appointment of good personnel to the key positions, as it is a matter of organisational restructuring".

Chapter 2: The Gambia

Gibou Njie & Sulayman Fye

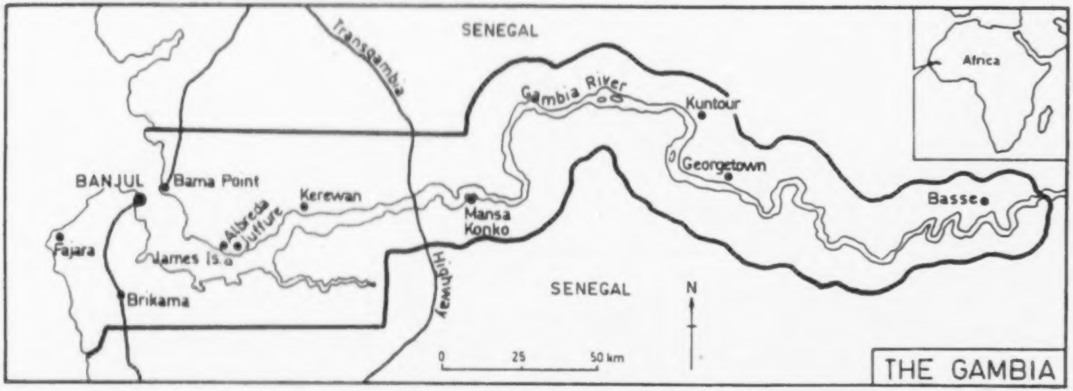
Population (1989): 822,000
Population Growth Rate (1980-88): 3.3% per annum
Land Area: 11,300 square kilometres
Capital: Banjul
GNP per Capita (1988): US$220
Year of Independence: 1965
Primary School Gross Enrolment Rate (1990): 59.0%
Human Development Index (1987): 0.094

The Republic of The Gambia is a narrow territory stretching nearly 500 kilometres along the River Gambia from the west coast of Africa. The country has a short coastline on the Atlantic Ocean, but is otherwise surrounded by Senegal. English is the official language, and the principal vernaculars are Mandinka, Fula and Wolof. About 85 per cent of the inhabitants are Muslim, while most of the remainder are Christian.

The Gambia was formerly a British dependency. It became a separate colony in 1888, having previously been part of Sierra Leone. Full internal self-government was achieved in 1963, and Independence was gained in 1965. A constitutional change in 1970 made The Gambia a republic under the presidential leadership of Sir Dawda Jawara.

In 1980 the government was obliged to ask neighbouring Senegal to dispatch troops to help The Gambia maintain internal security under the terms of a mutual defence pact. A more serious threat was posed by an attempted coup d'état in 1981. Senegalese troops again entered the capital and quickly crushed the rebellion. Shortly afterwards, plans were announced for the merger of The Gambia and Senegal in a confederation to be called Senegambia. However as the 1980s progressed initial proposals were greatly modified, and in 1989 the idea was abandoned.

The economy depends mainly on agriculture, and about 70 per cent


SENEGAL
Transgambia
Highway
Gambia River
Kuntour
Georgetown
Basse
Africa
BANJUL
Barra Point
Kerewan
Albreda
Juffure
Mansa Konko
Fajara
James Is.
Brikama
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THE GAMBIA

of the population lives in rural areas. Groundnuts are the principal agricultural export. In recent years tourism has become increasingly important, and now contributes approximately 10 per cent to GDP.

1. The System of Education

Primary education in The Gambia is free but not compulsory. Children are expected to enter school at the age of seven, and to take the Common Entrance Examination at the end of Grade 6. Candidates who are successful may proceed either to a four-year course in a secondary technical school or to a five-year high school course which leads to the General Certificate of Education (GCE) O Level examination, with a possibility of a further two years to GCE A Level.

Recent decades have brought rapid expansion of the education sector. In the period 1976-86, primary school enrolments increased 174 per cent from 25,000 to 67,000. High school enrolments rose 123 per cent, from 2,200 in 1976 to 4,900 in 1988; and secondary technical school enrolments grew by 134 per cent, from 4,600 in 1976 to 10,900 in 1988. However, population expansion has reduced the growth of enrolment rates. The 1990 primary school gross enrolment rate was just 59 per cent, and the net enrolment rate was just 50 per cent. Moreover, only 35 per cent of primary school leavers were able to continue their formal education in secondary schools.

In 1988 the government published a new initiative entitled *Education Policy 1988-2003*. The document called for structural reform to create a 6+3+3+2 system. According to the plan, the six years of primary schooling will be followed by a three-year middle school programme. The resulting nine-year basic education cycle should eventually be available to all Gambian children and will prepare school-leavers both for self-sufficiency and, for those with suitable ability, for further academic schooling. The system will also expand to meet the demands of a growing population. The government aims by 2003 to increase the primary school enrolment rate to 75 per cent and the primary to secondary transition rate to 60 per cent.

The new system will also have to make provision for the 40 per cent of Gambian children who currently have no access to primary school, and for the estimated 75 per cent of the population over the age of 15 who are functionally illiterate. The response to this situation has been the development of non-formal education focused on functional literacy.

2. The Ministry of Education, Youth, Sports & Culture

Despite the four functions named in the title, this ministry has only two main component parts. One is Education, and the other is Youth, Sports & Culture. Education is the larger and more prominent of the two, and indeed the Ministry is commonly referred to as the Ministry of Education rather than by its longer title. This chapter focuses primarily on what used to be called the Department of Education.

In 1988, the government undertook a major review of structure and operation of the ministry. The work was assisted by two consultants recruited through the UK Overseas Development Administration. The consultants' principal tasks were to:

i) examine the structure of the Department of Education in relation to the ministry as a whole;
ii) make recommendations on ways to integrate the functions of the Department of Education into the Ministry of Education in order to create a single administrative and managerial unit; and
iii) examine the support units, and made recommendations for their future operations within a restructured ministry.

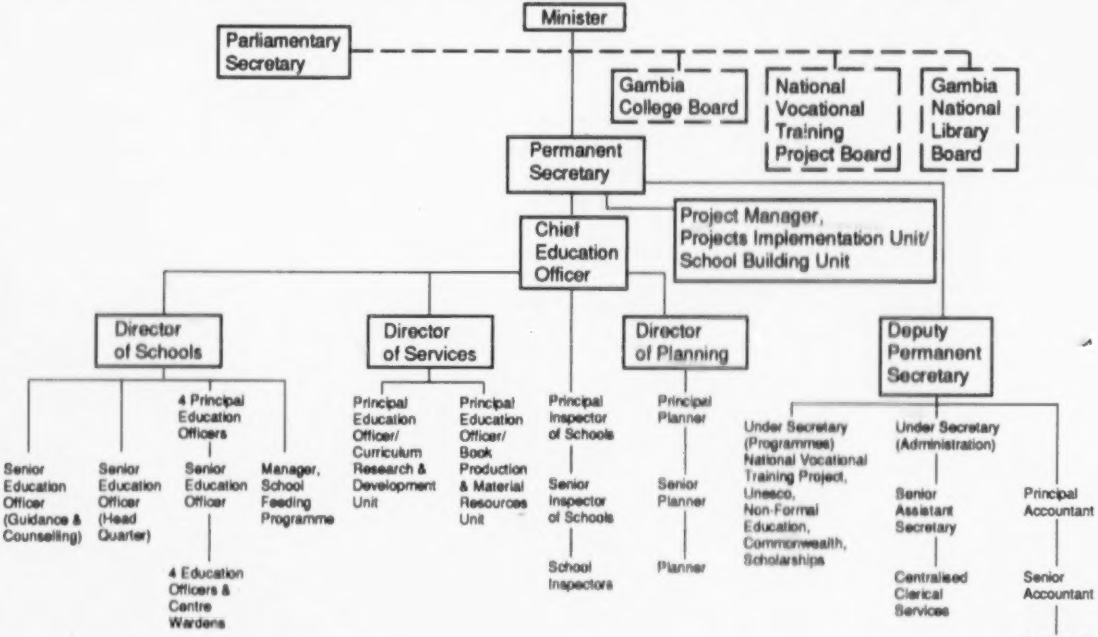
The consultants' report (Garvey & Wood 1988) contains many valuable insights and observations, some of which are outlined in this chapter. The report contributed to the decision to remove the separation between the Department and the Ministry of Education.

Figure 2.1 shows the organisation chart for administration of the education function. The Permanent Secretary (PS) is the administrative head, chief adviser to the Minister and chief accounting officer for the entire Ministry. Below the Permanent Secretary is the Chief Education Officer (CEO), who is the Ministry's chief professional adviser on all educational matters. He exercises direct professional control over the Divisions of Schools, Services, and Planning, and is required to ensure their effective coordination. The CEO also provides professional advice to the Ministry on technical education, vocational training and non-formal education.

The three Divisions have a measure of autonomy in day-to-day management and planning. The same is true of the three major statutory bodies - the Gambia College Board, the National Library Board and the proposed National Council for Technical Education and Vocational Training (NCTEVT), which will be the successor to the board for the National Vocational Training Project (NVTP).

A separate wing of the Department is headed by the Deputy Per-

Figure 2.1: The Education Sector of the Ministry of Education, Youth, Sports & Culture, The Gambia


Minister
Parliamentary Secretary
Gambia College Board
National Vocational Training Project Board
Gambia National Library Board
Permanent Secretary
Project Manager, Projects Implementation Unit/ School Building Unit
Chief Education Officer
Director of Schools
Director of Services
Director of Planning
Deputy Permanent Secretary
Senior Education Officer (Guidance & Counselling)
Senior Education Officer (Head Quarter)
4 Principal Education Officers
Senior Education Officer
4 Education Officers & Centre Wardens
Manager, School Feeding Programme
Principal Education Officer/ Curriculum Research & Development Unit
Principal Education Officer/ Book Production & Material Resources Unit
Principal Inspector of Schools
Senior Inspector of Schools
School Inspectors
Principal Planner
Senior Planner
Planner
Under Secretary (Programmes) National Vocational Training Project, Unesco, Non-Formal Education, Commonwealth, Scholarships
Under Secretary (Administration)
Senior Assistant Secretary
Centralised Clerical Services
Principal Accountant
Senior Accountant
Accountant

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manent Secretary (DPS). He has two Under Secretaries responsible respectively for programmes and for administration. He is also responsible for the accounts section. The DPS is a generalist administrative officer who, like the Permanent Secretary, can be moved from one ministry to another. The present DPS came from the Ministry of Tourism. He handles such general administrative matters as finance, transport and office services.

The Projects Implementation Unit is responsible for implementation of donor-assisted projects. Because of the sensitive nature of such projects, with donors often having direct access to the Minister, the Permanent Secretary prefers PIU problems to be referred to him personally. The School Building Unit used to be a separate entity but has now been integrated with the Projects Implementation Unit.

A senior management team operates under the chairmanship of the Permanent Secretary. It comprises the CEO, the DPS, the Directors of the Divisions of Schools, Services, and Planning, the Principal of Gambia College, and the Director of Technical Education & Vocational Training. The team should meet at least once a month to review and monitor implementation of plans, draw up programmes of action, and advise the minister generally on trends within the sector.

3. Centralisation and Decentralisation

As the education sector expanded, the government decided as part of the ten-year Education Policy (1976-86) to decentralise educational administration. In 1976, four regions were established, namely:

	Region	Headquarters
Region 1	Banjul and Kombo St. Mary	Kanifing
Region 2	Western	Brikama
Region 3	Lower River	Kerewan
Region 4	Macarthy Island Division & Upper River Division	Basse

Regional education officers are responsible for the implementation of education policy and for the management of schools within their regions. The four regional centres are focal points of the school sub-systems. Their staff combine administrative and professional roles in a manner which reflects the components and functions of the Ministry itself.

Each regional education office has three professional education officers, who act as local representatives of the Ministry. The Principal Education Officer (PEO) is the local representative of the Permanent Secretary, and is accountable immediately to the Director of Schools. He is the senior educationist in the region, responsible to the Permanent Secretary through the Director of Schools for implementation of the national policy and for maintenance of good practice in schools.

The Principal Education Officer is assisted by a Senior Education Officer (SEO) and an Education Officer (EO). Collectively the team is responsible for:

- recruitment and posting of unqualified teachers,
- deployment of qualified teachers,
- monitoring of school standards,
- distribution to the schools of resources, supplies and materials from the Central Stores,
- inspection of schools (in conjunction with the inspectorate),
- appraisal of teachers,
- checking school records (pupil admission, attendance, etc.), and
- approving payments of transport allowances for teachers.

The staff are appointed by the Public Service Commission, and are posted to the regions by the Permanent Secretary. However, the regional staff are directly responsible to the Director of Schools.

Although there are four regional education offices, many educational services are managed centrally from the Ministry of Education headquarters in Banjul. Major decisions, e.g. on recruitment, discipline and transfer of teachers, are taken at the central level. Because the regional education offices are under-resourced, the capacity has not been developed to make an objective assessment of professional activities to facilitate the task of making important decisions. The *Education Policy 1988-2000* recognises the need to strengthen the four regional education offices. During the plan period, increased responsibilities will be placed on the regional offices in financial management, in the monitoring and administration of schools, in the development of professional services for teachers, and in direct involvement in the regional development of education.

4. Specialist Units within the Ministry of Education

(a) The Planning Unit is responsible for gathering data from the schools through the regional education offices. The unit also advises the senior management on the interpretation of such information, and analyses the

statistical consequences of policy options which may be under consideration. The unit comprises a Principal Education Planner, a Senior Planner, and a Planner/Statistician. The officer responsible for building projects is also attached to this unit, and reports to the Permanent Secretary through the Principal Education Planner. The unit is currently computerising all its statistical data and carrying out analyses of the annual statistics and the school mapping survey. A clerical officer and a typist have been added to the staff to assist in data processing and reporting.

(b) The Curriculum Research & Development Unit (CRDU) is in the Division of Services. It was established in 1976 with assistance from Unesco, and has been chiefly responsible for the development of curricula and syllabuses for the primary and secondary schools. Since its inception the unit has produced a new curriculum for primary grades 1 to 6, and has prepared teachers' manuals and pupils' workbooks for the subjects taught in that curriculum.

(c) The Book Production & Materials Resources Unit (BPMRU) has developed over the years into an effective printing and publishing establishment with sections for editing, graphics, audio-visual work and printing. The unit forms another wing in the Division of Services, and works closely with the Curriculum Research & Development Unit. The BPMRU does not have the capacity to publish all text books and other needs, and the system still relies heavily on overseas publishers. Nevertheless plans are in hand to develop the national capacity in text book printing. Despite its small size, the education sector has over the years developed a structure which is responding to the requirements of an expanding education system.

(d) The Inspectorate also works closely with the curriculum unit. A Principal Inspector, a Senior Inspector and 11 Assistant Inspectors cover both primary and secondary technical schools. However, high schools are not inspected at all.

On the administrative side, difficulties arise from the fact that all inspectors are based in Banjul. The Garvey & Wood report (1988, p.10) recommended that they be posted out to the Regional Education Offices to work under the control of the Regional Education Officer and in close collaboration with the Wardens of the Teachers' Centres. The principal role of Assistant Inspectors in the situation where many primary teachers are unqualified should be to advise and assist the schools on a week-by-week basis. This cannot be done effectively if their contact with schools depends on periodic visits from Banjul.

In small education systems, inspection of primary and middle schools presents less of a problem than inspection of secondary schools. The chief difficulty in secondary schools is the need to secure inspectors who are specialists in the full range of subjects. The recommendation of the Garvey & Wood report (1988, p.10), which may also have some relevance to other small states, was (i) that the Senior Inspector carry out the regulatory inspection of high schools each year, and (ii) that the Senior Inspector appoint a panel of advisory subject specialists from serving teachers either in the Gambia College or the high schools themselves. These specialists would visit and advise subject departments on professional practice, and would advise the Senior Inspector on performance and standards. Such inspections could be conducted as panel inspections every few years, or could be carried out at the specific request of the Senior Inspector or the inspected department on an occasional basis.

(e) Accounts. The centralised accounting system requires the preparation of monthly salary vouchers to be handled by the Accountant General's Department of the Ministry of Finance & Trade. Nevertheless the basic information on teachers' salaries and allowances is provided by the Accounts Section of the Ministry of Education. Salary print-outs are sent to this unit by the Treasury for verification before salaries are released. Plans are in hand to establish a management information system in the Division of Planning, to ensure an effective computerised record of all education personnel.

(f) The Non-Formal Education Services Unit does not at present have a substantive Director but is managed by an Under Secretary who also has responsibility for the National Commission of Unesco and who administers on behalf of the Permanent Secretary the areas of Youth, Sports and Culture.

Non-formal literacy teaching in The Gambia is largely a voluntary activity, and as such sits uneasily with management of the large salaried formal school structure. Thus while the present arrangement whereby the unit is directed under the 'administrative' rather than the 'education services' section of the Ministry seems slightly anomalous, there is no good reason to change it given the unit's present level of activity.

5. Work not Undertaken

The Ministry of Education, Youth, Sports & Culture does not undertake all the tasks which would be undertaken by such a ministry in a larger country. The lack of inspection of high schools has already been mentioned, as has payment of salaries which is the responsibility of the Treasury Department in the Ministry of Finance & Trade. A further function is personnel recruitment and promotion, which is the responsibility of the Personnel Management Office of the Office of the President.

The Gambia also lacks expertise in assessment of examination candidates. This limitation applies not only to O and A Levels but also to professional and technical subjects such as accounting. The problem is partly solved by membership of the West African Examinations Council (WAEC), which sets regional examinations. Membership of WAEC also includes Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia and Sierra Leone. These countries are much larger than The Gambia, and their manpower resources in assessment and related matters are much better developed. Pupils in The Gambia also sit examinations set by such bodies as the City & Guilds of London.

6. Personnel

(a) Expertise

The public service in general has found it difficult to recruit qualified nationals for senior positions. One factor contributing to this problem is persistent emigration to international organisations, universities and companies. To redress this situation, the government has conducted periodic salary reviews and has increased financial rewards.

In order to bridge gaps, the government has also had to recruit expatriates in certain jobs. This itself has created certain difficulties. The expatriates who come to The Gambia usually stay only for a short period; and some expatriates interpret reality according to their own norms and attitude systems, which might differ from those of The Gambia. Many expatriates have had experience in the larger African countries, and some find difficulties adjusting to the special circumstances of The Gambia with its small population and land area.

Some aspects of recruitment display internal biases. The Gambian population is composed of different ethnic groups, and has suffered from a lack of cohesion. This phenomenon, commonly known as tribalism, affects the selection of manpower for certain government positions. There has recently been a tendency for senior officials in certain institutions to recruit staff from their own tribes. Apart from the obvious social and political consequences, this fragments a labour market which is already small.

To deal with this problem, the government has introduced a new scheme of service which indicates the required qualifications and experience within the hierarchical structure of government. The scheme also stipulates the total number of years of service required by employees before they can be promoted to certain ranks.

(b) Job Definition and Appraisal

Job definition and appraisal are quite new practices in the Ministry of Education. They were first introduced in 1987, and have two dimensions. One covers all ministries and special departments, and the other is specific to the Department of Education.

Although the scheme of service in the Department of Education has many positive aspects, it has two major deficiencies. First, unlike the scheme of service for the administrative cadre, it does not define positions by level of responsibility. The scheme should distinguish between the levels of management and the powers of decision-making proper to the various grades of officers in the service. Second, the scheme includes duties and functions which apparently were those carried out at a specific point in time by individual officers. Schemes of service ought not to be too specific about duties which can be altered by management decisions, but should still reflect the ability of the Permanent Secretary or his senior representatives to adapt the functions of middle-level officers to needs arising.

As in other small Ministries, officers generally know their colleagues very well. On the positive side, close interpersonal relationships permit effective teamwork. Monitoring within groups can also ensure that all members carry out their tasks on time. However, the strength of personal bonds can have negative effects. Individuals and groups can hide inadequacies and absences from work, and evaluation of individuals may be subjective. Also, sub-groups may fight each other instead of utilising their time and energies for more productive work.

(c) Promotion Prospects and Procedures

Promotion prospects have in the past been quite dynamic. A couple of individuals have taken jobs elsewhere, which opened up posts for other professionals in the Ministry. This had a positive effect on motivation. Since general mobility has been so high, the question of whether generalists have better promotion prospects than specialists has not really arisen.

The promotion procedure is now based on the scheme of service recently introduced by the government. This important document spells out the total amount of time required to work within a unit before an individual is due for promotion. A senior planner, for example, is expected to work for three years before becoming a principal planner.

To some extent the generalist civil servants have an advantage in their promotion prospects to the top of the system, for they can easily move from one ministry to another and thereby move into vacancies. However, the Deputy Permanent Secretary hold the same rank as the Chief Education Officer, and theory the two officers should hold equal chances of moving to the Permanent Secretary's position should it become vacant.

7. International Aid

A great percentage of the aid that the ministry receives comes in the form of food. For example Norway, Denmark, Finland and the USA have donated rice, cooking oil, canned beef and sardines for the school feeding programme. However, a negative aspect of the food aid is the dependency syndrome which it creates in the minds of the recipients and which sometimes has a negative impact on motivation.

As noted above, because of the important and sensitive nature of donor-assisted projects, the Ministry has formed a specific Projects Implementation Unit and has made it directly accountable to the Permanent Secretary. This arrangement is logical, and is on balance desirable. However, in this structure it is more difficult to arrange coordination with the rest of the system, for the line of authority does not come under the Chief Education Officer. As in some other countries, there is also a danger that the unit which deals directly with the donors is better resourced than other parts of the system. If not handled carefully, this can lead to imbalances and petty jealousies.

Requests for information from external bodies normally take a lot of the time of professional staff. This negatively affects the timely execution of their normal duties. However it is very difficult to quantify the amount of time taken in dealing with such requests.

8. Rationalisation in Use of Resources

(a) Personnel

Table 2.1 shows the number of establishment posts in the main sections of the Ministry. Some of these posts are not used with maximum efficiency, and various rationalisation measures have been proposed. For example the Accounts establishment includes 15 Accounts Clerks and four Supplies Officers. Much of their work involves the preparation of payrolls and the physical payment of teachers' salaries. It is probable that a computerised accounts system will eventually lead to a reduction in the size of the Accounts Department.

Table 2.1: Establishment Posts in the Principal Parts of the Ministry, 1989-90

Unit/Section	No. of Posts
Office of the Minister	31
Curriculum Research & Development Unit	33
Regional Offices (Admin. & Advisory)	33
Accounts Section	30
Planning Unit	4
Book Production & Materials Resources Unit	25
School Inspectorate Unit	12

It is also desirable to explain the large number of posts in the Office of the Minister. These include all administrative staff in the Ministry, right down to the clerks, typists and messengers.

One measure proposed by the Garvey & Wood report (1988, pp.16-19) focused on what at that time was called the Curriculum Development Centre. The Centre had 35 posts, and although at the time of the report only 18 were filled the consultants recommended a further reduction. Their views could have implications for ministries of education in other countries as well as in The Gambia, so are worth noting in some detail.

The basic philosophy on which the Garvey & Wood recommendation was based was that curriculum development should involve the whole education sector, from the senior management whose policies and aspirations are served by it to the teachers whose activities constitute the actual curriculum. They suggested that certain aspects of the curriculum development process should be undertaken by specialists such as those employed in the curriculum development units, but that others could and should be undertaken by teachers.

In fact teachers have long been involved in curriculum development in The Gambia. The proposal from Garvey & Wood was that such involvement should be strengthened to make better use of the abilities, interests and training of personnel who worked in the Gambian education system but who were not necessarily employed by the Curriculum Development Centre. Curriculum development specialists, they suggested, should be used as managers rather than writers of curriculum plans and materials. This would promote both efficiency and flexibility. As noted in the report (p.18):

> It is hugely wasteful of trained manpower to maintain a body of specialists just in case any one specialism needs a new curriculum. Curriculum planning needs itself to be planned on a project basis. Curriculum specialists can manage projects and within them work with subject specialists from the teaching field.

This statement was also based on recognition that production of good materials requires writing skills which should not be expected to exist only in a curriculum development unit. Such skills cannot easily be taught in curriculum training programmes, and are highly dependent on innate ability, careful editorial guidance, and motivation. It seems unreasonable to expect all curriculum specialists to be gifted writers; and it might therefore be wiser for the staff in curriculum development unit to be given primarily a management function, responsible mainly for promotion and guidance.

The specific recommendation for the Gambian system was that curriculum development be considered a function of the whole education sector under the management control of the Permanent Secretary and the Senior Management Team. In this case, all that would be needed for a curriculum development unit would be a Director and six other specialists, two of whom would have particular ability in research. Such a system would be less wasteful of scarce manpower, cheaper, more flexible, and perhaps capable of delivering better products.

The Garvey & Wood report also commented on aspects of book production. In particular the report suggested (1988, p.16) that the decision to print pupils' workbooks as part of the curriculum was now generally agreed to have been a serious professional error. Because the workbooks have to be filled in by pupils, they can only be used once. This requires constant reprinting, which wastes financial, human and other resources.

(b) Information Flows

As in all public institutions in The Gambia, in the Ministry of Education informal channels of communication are widely used. However, such channels are not systematic, and are sometimes misleading. This results in communication and information networks which are broken, and decision-makers therefore have to work with fragmentary information which may or may not solve the problem at hand.

Sometimes, both decision-makers and implementers assume that information has flowed easily when in fact it has been incomplete or misleading. For example in certain schools failures in the Common Entrance Examination were attributed to the lack of text books, but after the provision of such materials problems still persisted. It was later suggested that shortcomings among the teachers were a more serious cause of failure. Improvements in information collection and dissemination are essential for improved efficiency and rational use of resources.

9. Conclusions

The education system in the Gambia has grown dramatically in the last two decades. This has had major implications for the structure of administration. Primary school enrolments increased by 174 per cent between 1976 and 1986, and secondary enrolments by 123 per cent between 1976 and 1988. At the same time, the population has also grown dramatically. Whereas in 1973 the population was estimated at just 493,000, by 1989 it was estimated at 822,000. Geographically, the country is long and narrow. The combination of population increase and geographic dispersion has required a process of decentralisation to four regional education offices.

In 1986 the government commissioned the firm of Peat, Marwick & Mitchell to review the overall organisation, staffing and efficiency of the Gambian Civil Service. The firm did comment on the Ministry of Education, Youth, Sports & Culture, including a brief account of its needs in a document entitled 'Overview of the Ministries'. Because this was not a detailed review, however, the government commissioned a more thorough examination of the Ministry. The work was undertaken in 1988 with assistance from the UK Overseas Development Administration.

One of the overall recommendations of the consultants undertaking this work (Garvey & Wood 1988, p.3) was that the distinction between the Ministry and the Department of Education should be abolished. When the Ministry of Education was created at the time of self-government and Independence, it apparently absorbed the existing Department of Education, leaving intact its organisation and responsibilities and the powers of its head, the Director of Education. At that time a reordering of such powers would have been necessary since the Director, who had represented Education to the Governor and had been solely in charge of the sector, had henceforth to report to a Minister (who represented Education to the Cabinet) through an administrative Permanent Secretary.

As the consultants pointed out, in all Ministries of Education the work of the general administrative cadre and of the technical officers must proceed together. Although there are many ways to ensure their integrated functioning under general supervision of a Permanent Secretary, it appeared that in The Gambia this mode of functional integration had not been satisfactorily developed. While serious in all contexts, this failing is perhaps particularly serious in a small ministry and in a country faced by manpower constraints. The consultants made various recommendations to improve the situation, some of which have been noted here.

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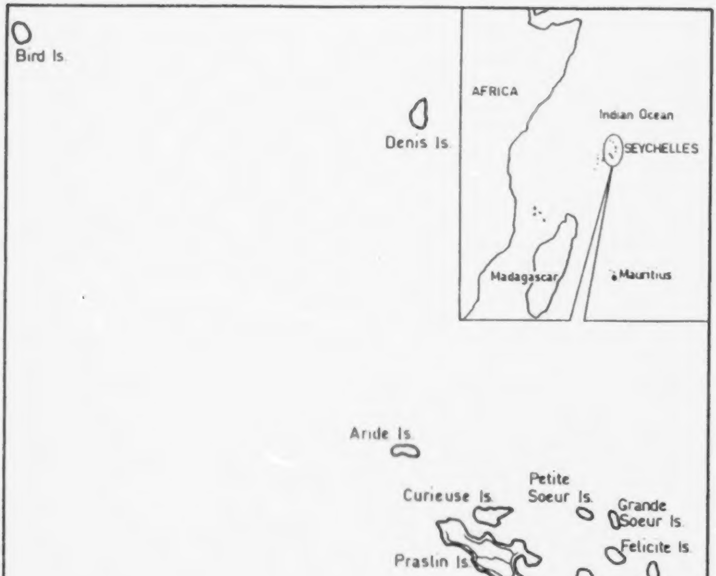
Chapter 3: Seychelles

Patrick Pillay & Atputhanathan Murugiah

Population (1989): 67,000
Population Growth Rate (1985-89): 0.7% per annum
Total Land Area: 455 square kilometres
Land Area of Mahé Island: 148 square kilometres
Exclusive Economic Maritime Zone: 1,000,000 square kilometres
Capital: Victoria
GNP per Capita (1988): US$3,500
Year of Independence: 1976
Primary School Enrolment Rate (1989): 94%
Human Development Index (1987): 0.817

The Republic of Seychelles is an archipelago of 115 islands. Geographically, the islands are clustered into the Mahé group, the Amirante group and the Aldabra group. The largest island, which comprises one third of the total land area and supports nearly 90 per cent of the population, is called Mahé. The bulk of the rest of the population lives on islands called Praslin, La Digue and Silhouette.

The first recorded visit to the islands was by Portuguese travellers in the 15th century. They were followed by British navigators in the 16th century and French ones in the 17th century. France took possession of the islands in 1756, but the first group to settle, comprising 15 Frenchmen, five Indians, one African and seven slaves, did not arrive until 1770. In 1814 the islands came under British rule as a dependency of Mauritius. An influx of slaves and merchants swelled the population, and the blend of European, African, Indian and Chinese peoples formed the basis of Seychellois society which has persisted to this day. The Kreol language which is spoken throughout Seychelles also reflects the nation's colonial past, and particularly the French influence. In 1903, Seychelles became a colony under direct British control rather than a dependency of Mauritius. The nation became independent in 1976.


Bird Is.
Denis Is.
AFRICA
Indian Ocean
SEYCHELLES
Madagascar
Mauritius
Aride Is.
Curieuse Is.
Petite Soeur Is.
Grande Soeur Is.
Felicite Is.
Praslin Is.
La Digue Is.
Marianne Is.
North Is.
Silhouette Is.
Recif Is.
Frigate Is.
VICTORIA
Mahé Is.
N
SEYCHELLES
0
10
20 km

Until the opening of the international airport in 1971, the export economy depended mainly on copra and cinnamon. In more recent years tourism and fishing have become the main sources of income, and at US$3,500 the per capita income is among the highest in Africa. Prosperity and universal secondary education, combined with emigration, have contributed in recent years to a sharp reduction in the population growth rate.

1. National Priorities and Educational Development

A coup d'état in 1977 brought the then Prime Minister, France Albert René, to power as President. Thus came into being the new nation of today and a commitment to building a socialist state with five major goals:

1. equality of opportunity in all spheres of life,
2. self-reliance at the levels of the nation, communities and individuals,
3. work by and for everyone, and exploitation by no one,
4. a fully developed and progressive society, and
5. continued self-determination as a nation.

A new constitution made Seychelles a single-party state, and in the first general election René was confirmed as President. The first National Development Plan launched by his government gave education the highest priority. Particularly prominent was the goal of nine years' free and compulsory education. The plan also aimed at equality of educational opportunity and at rationalisation of the system. School zones were created for administrative purposes and to reduce inequalities, and parent-teachers' associations were established to encourage community interest in education. Each school was given a library and facilities for teaching science, handicrafts and home economics. Pupils were given free tuition, free mid-day meals, and subsidised school uniforms. Thus the quality of education and accessibility that before Independence had been available only in the few fee-paying schools were extended to all schools in the country.

The second phase of this policy brought two years of universal and free first-level secondary education. This was part of an innovative programme designed to train young Seychellois to become better citizens of the New Society. This programme was called the National Youth Service (NYS), and was seen as both a continuation of formal education and a scheme for pre-training in vocational and community fields. Students graduating from the NYS were expected to serve as models for the rest of society, concerned about and involved in what was happening around them. Since this was an urgent need for the envisaged New Society, the NYS was called a Service rather than a school.

The NYS has been a sustained initiative, which pupils can opt to join after nine years of primary education. In the NYS programme pupils reside on campuses called villages. Their dormitories are built in clusters of four units, with 14 students in each unit. Separate dormitories are provided for boys and girls in the same village. Pupils are given free tuition, food and educational materials. Each village is a self-contained unit with a playground, agricultural plots, fishing facilities, a health centre, a medical doctor, nurses, and a study centre with laboratories, workshops and a library. Until 1990 the NYS programme lasted for two years post-primary, though in that year it was reduced to one year.

At the beginning, the NYS was directed by a board chaired by the President of the Republic. The programme was run by a Coordinator appointed by the board. The original administrative structure was placed directly under the President partly in order to cut the bureaucratic lag that usually accompanies such experiments. However, once the full complement of four villages had been established, and both the Formal Education and the Life Skills components of the curriculum had been stabilised, the administration was transferred to the Ministry of Education.

Another initiative during this period focused on the language of instruction. In 1981 it was decided after much debate that Kreol would be introduced in schools and used as a medium in the initial stages. English would become the second language and the subsequent medium of instruction, and French would be learned as a subject at a later stage and would form a support language. A National Institute of Pedagogy was established to improve the quality of education and to prepare Kreol-language materials. The Institute was also responsible for implementation of the curriculum. This Institute, which was essentially a curriculum development division, was later enlarged with addition of an examination unit and an audio-visual unit to form the Educational Planning & Development Division.

The third phase of the reform was the development of second-level secondary education with emphasis on provision of skilled manpower. This was provided by the opening of the polytechnic by grouping together all post-NYS academic, vocational and technical training courses, and adding to them a continuing education sector. Polytechnic education was provided free for those who showed the ability to follow the different courses that were provided.

While the first three phases concentrated on infrastructural needs, the present emphasis is on consolidation of the creche, primary, first-level secondary and second-level secondary stages. In addition, to complete the programme of accessibility for all the government has established a school for the exceptional child. As a result of these investments, enrolments soared from 14,000 immediately before Independence to 21,500 in 1989. In 1990 education consumed 30 per cent of the government budget.

2. Administration of Education

During these periods of changing priorities, different arrangements were made for the administration of education. During the immediate pre-Independence period, education was a relatively small enterprise consuming less than 6 per cent of the recurrent budget. Education was administered by the Ministry of Education, Labour & Social Services, which was one of the smallest of the eight ministries then existing.

With the educational expansion in the post-Independence era, new arrangements became necessary. The government formed a Ministry of Education & Information, within which education was by far the more significant of the two functions. However, in the early years the President's office took responsibility for both the NYS and crèches. The Ministry of Education & Information (which also covered Culture) at this time consumed about 14 per cent of the recurrent budget. The Division of Education was responsible for primary education and vocational training schools.

In the next administrative reorganisation, responsibility for creches was moved from the President's office to the Ministry of Education & Information. This was a period in which improvised crèches in parish halls, clubs and hired buildings were being replaced by purpose-built facilities able to provide two-years of universal pre-school education. The Division of Education was therefore responsible for the primary schools and crèches and for the newly-formed polytechnic. By this time, expenditure on education, including the NYS, amounted to about 27 per cent of the recurrent total.

In 1986 the NYS was brought under the now expanded Ministry of Education, Information & Youth. The Ministry had five Divisions, covering Education, Information, Culture, Youth, and Sports. The Division of Education continued to manage the same institutions as earlier, and the NYS was managed by the Division of Youth. The Ministry's expenditure remained about 27 per cent of the recurrent total.

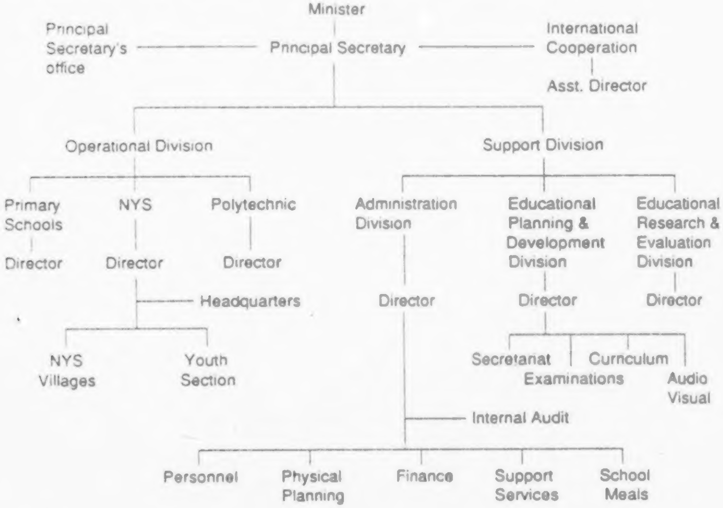
In 1989, the administrative framework was again restructured. This time Education became a Ministry in itself, rather than merely a Division in a larger ministry, and all formal education institutions, including the NYS, were brought under its direction. The remainder of this chapter is chiefly concerned with the organisation and management of what since 1989 has simply been called the Ministry of Education.

Despite the existence of many islands and large distances, the Ministry has no decentralised offices. The secretariat for administration of the polytechnic is on the polytechnic campus, but the secretariats for administration of primary schools and the NYS are at the Ministry headquarters.

3. Formal Organisation of the Ministry of Education

The government's priorities in educational development are reflected in the organisation of the Ministry of Education. The organisation chart in Figure 3.1 shows separate sections for the NYS and the polytechnic,

Figure 3.1: The Ministry of Education, Seychelles (1990)

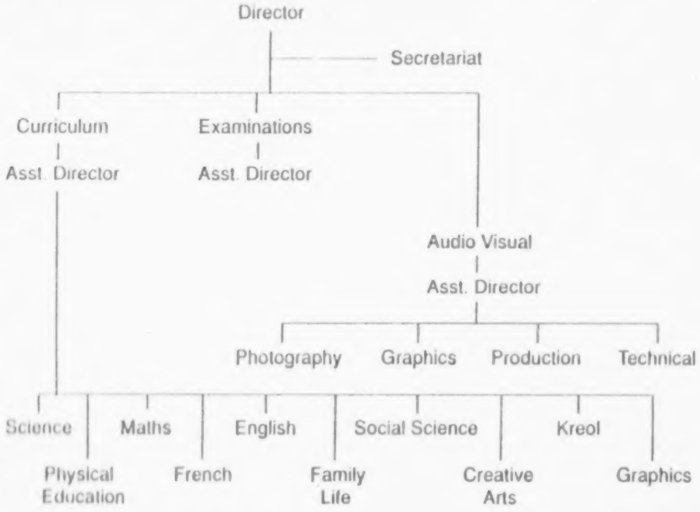

Minister
Principal Secretary's office
Principal Secretary
International Cooperation
Asst. Director
Operational Division
Support Division
Primary Schools
NYS
Polytechnic
Director
Director
Director
Headquarters
NYS Villages
Youth Section
Administration Division
Director
Educational Planning & Development Division
Director
Educational Research & Evaluation Division
Director
Secretariat
Curriculum
Examinations
Audio Visual
Internal Audit
Personnel
Physical Planning
Finance
Support Services
School Meals

as well as for planning, research, etc.. Because the NYS is an innovative programme which also has residential campuses, its secretariat is larger than those for the primary schools or polytechnic. The NYS secretariat has an establishment of 31 posts compared with only four for primary schools and 14 for the polytechnic.

Figure 3.1 also shows that the Ministry of Education has separate wings for operations and for support. Each wing has three divisions. In the operational wing the divisions are for primary schools, the NYS, and the polytechnic. In the support wing the divisions are for administration, educational planning & development, and educational research & evaluation. Although the Ministry is small, its organisational structure is somewhat akin to those of ministries of education in much larger countries.

The Educational Research & Evaluation Division was created only in 1990. Its principal roles are to monitor and control educational output, and to ensure that an element of educational management and auditing is distinctly built into the system. An underlying motive for creating the unit was to improve the cost-effectiveness of operations.

Figure 3.2: The Educational Planning & Development Division, Ministry of Education, Seychelles (1990)


Director
Secretariat
Curriculum
Asst. Director
Examinations
Asst. Director
Audio Visual
Asst. Director
Photography
Graphics
Production
Technical
Science
Maths
English
Social Science
Kreol
Physical Education
French
Family Life
Creative Arts
Graphics

Space constraints prevent discussion here of the structure of each division. However, a more detailed organisation chart of the Educational Planning & Development Division is presented in Figure 3.2. This division was formed by enlarging and reshaping the National Institute of Pedagogy. The curriculum unit has 10 sub-sections covering nine subjects, and the audio-visual unit has four sub-sections responsible for graphics, photography, production and technical matters.

The Ministry has two graphics units. One is attached to the curriculum development unit and handles the demands of the nine sections of that unit. The other is attached to the audio-visual unit and handles the production of materials not only for the different curriculum units but also for the educational television, the health education programme of the Ministry of Health, and the environment education programme of the Ministry of National Development.

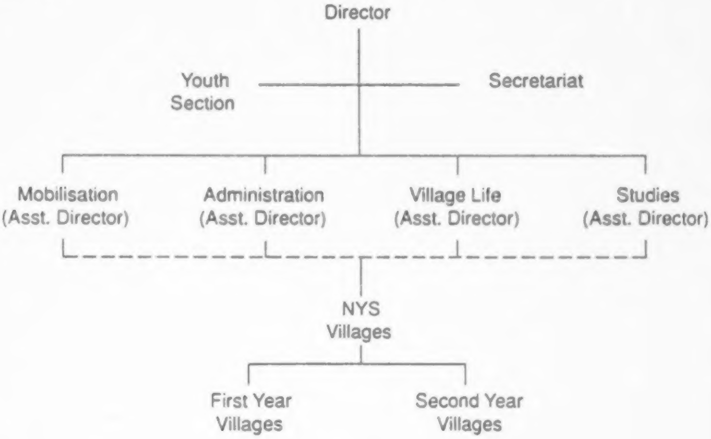
The curriculum development unit at present concentrates on the nine subjects that form the core in both primary and secondary education. The science unit has responsibility for combined science, physics, biology, chemistry and agriculture, and thus is quite large. In contrast the units for French, and for social science are quite small. A few more units are planned to keep up with expansion in curriculum, especially in the vocational areas. The cost of curriculum development is one example where small states have to incur heavy expenses, especially when they stress a curriculum suited to the socioeconomic needs of the country. Although in small countries the materials are used by a small number of schools, the Ministry needs the same amount of curriculum development expertise as would be needed by a large country.

The basic planning functions are carried out in several places. Despite its broad title, the Educational Planning & Development Division is mainly confined to curriculum planning. Other types of planning are mostly done in the Administration Division, which has units both for physical planning and for finance. Statistics are processed by the unit for physical planning, which also overseas matters of construction and maintenance. An Educational Planning Development Committee coordinates operations and facilitates inputs both from other parts of the Ministry and from outside the Ministry. In addition, the secretariat for the Principal Secretary has a technical adviser who may be called on to prepare briefing papers, 'think pieces' and projections.

It is also instructive to note the organisation chart of the NYS Division, shown in Figure 3.3. The NYS Villages section is separate from the youth section, and is itself divided into First-Year Villages and Second-Year Villages. Within the secretariat, separate sub-sections are responsible for mobilisation, administration, village life, and studies.

This is because NYS in addition to being a residential programme provides two other types of education. One is a fully developed academic and pre-vocational education during school hours, and the other is education for life and community, which is programmed to go on after school hours and at week ends.

Figure 3.3: The NYS Division of the Ministry of Education, Seychelles (1990)


Director
Youth Section
Secretariat
Mobilisation (Asst. Director)
Administration (Asst. Director)
Village Life (Asst. Director)
Studies (Asst. Director)
NYS Villages
First Year Villages
Second Year Villages

4. Shared Responsibilities and Work not Undertaken

The smallness of the system, combined with manpower constraints and the need for cost-effectiveness, requires many facilities to be shared with or run by other bodies. For example, the Ministry of Education has allowed two schools catering for children of expatriate personnel to be managed privately. One of these schools operates in English, while the other operates in French.

Other areas in which the Ministry either shares responsibilities or else leaves the work to other bodies include:

- most major building work, which is done by external contractors;
- printing of question papers, text books and other publications, which is handled by a parastatal organisation;
- computer maintenance, which is handled by another parastatal organisation called Computer Services Limited;
- external examinations, which are conducted by the University

of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, the City & Guilds of London Institute, and the Royal Society of Arts;
- health clinics in the NYS villages, which have been handed over to be run by the Ministry of Health;
- sports activities, responsibility for which is shared with the Sports Council; and
- the Institute of Management, which was formerly run by the Department of Finance, but is now run by the Ministry of Administration & Manpower.

One benefit from the arrangement for operating the Institute of Management is that the Ministry of Administration & Manpower is able to use its regular staff as trainers.

At present no Ministry of Education staff work for other bodies, and no staff from other Ministries work in the Ministry of Education. However, both patterns would benefit individuals and the Ministry as a whole. It is good to lend expertise to other institutions, and outside work would broaden the individuals' outlooks. For example the financial controller, the engineer and the architect could offer their services to other institutions and gain both monetary and motivational reward. In the same way the short-staffed curriculum division could gain help from the Department of Environment, the Technological Support Services Division, the Agricultural Research Division and other bodies.

Because of manpower shortages and the smallness of the system, certain areas of work are not undertaken at all. Among the services which would be found in a larger system but which are not found in Seychelles are out-of-school education, tertiary education, and educational publishing.

5. Ministry Personnel

(a) Number of Posts

The number of establishment posts is shown in Table 3.1, which covers everyone from the Directorate to the cleaners. Including teachers, the Ministry of Education employs nearly 2,300 people out of the 8,100 in the public sector. This represents 11 per cent of the total number of formally-employed people in all sectors (public, private and parastatal). The Ministry of Education is the largest single employer in the country.

Table 3.1: Establishment Posts in the Ministry of Education, Seychelles

	Head-quarters	Primary Schools	NYS	Poly-technic	School for the Exceptional Child
Total Posts	519	1,655	688	426	46
Posts Filled	306	1,167	490	285	26
Vacancies	213	488	198	141	20

The number of posts available has been increased by about 10 to 20 per cent as a buffer varying in percentage for different sections. The buffer is higher in places where there are more professionals and specialist workers, because these categories experience frequent personnel movement either for further training or for better jobs. This buffer provides substitutes to allow for movement. Because of this, the real establishment for the headquarters should be computed on a figure lower than 519.

The distribution of posts and of personnel actually in posts within the Ministry headquarters is shown in Table 3.2. The number of people in the headquarters is about 15 per cent of the expected total workforce of the Ministry. The largest gaps between the number of posts and the number of officers actually on the staff are in the Educational Planning & Development Division. For example the Secretariat has 60 posts but actually only 22 staff. Under the secretariat comes the supporting staff of each of the nine subject units, including the keyboard operators, secretaries, drivers and cleaners. The shortage is mainly in among the skilled keyboard operators and the secretaries.

The curriculum and the audio-visual units are also seriously short of staff, which, as noted above, they need in the same numbers as they would even if they served larger countries. To take one example, the science unit, which has to develop six different subjects, produces teaching materials, monitors implementation, helps in examinations, advises on procurement and supply of equipment, advises on maintenance of laboratories, and supervises teaching. Yet for all these tasks it has only five staff including two technicians. This is how one finds that only 38 of the 96 posts in the curriculum unit, and that only 12 of the 58 posts in the audio-visual unit have been filled.

(b) Expertise

Education by its very nature needs highly qualified staff. Apart from

Table 3.2: Total Posts and Actual Staff in the Ministry of Education Headquarters (1990)

	Total Posts	Actual Staff
Principal Secretary's Office	9	8
International Cooperation	8	7
Operational Divisions		
Primary	4	3
NYS	31	24
Polytechnic	14	7
Support Divisions		
Administration Division		
Internal Audit	7	2
Finance & Stores	37	33
Personnel & Support Services	82	65
School Meals	58	53
Physical Planning & Maintenance	51	29
Educ. Planning & Development Division		
Secretariat	60	22
Curriculum	96	38
Examinations	9	3
Audio-Visual	53	12

some personnel in the Administration Division and the support staff of other divisions, all officers within the headquarters need academic qualifications plus, in certain cases, additional qualifications in educational administration.

However, education is one field in which no amount of qualification can compensate for lack of experience. Necessary experience includes a reasonable number of years of contact with pupils. This is often ignored in newly-independent countries that have a tradition of administration by generalist civil servants. Experience is also needed in specialised fields, such as curriculum development, evaluation, secondary education, special education, and school administration.

Expatriate administrators should also have appropriate experience at least of other countries with similar socio-economic conditions. Education cannot be simply transplanted from one country to another, but must be set in specific socio-economic and cultural contexts. Many newly independent countries use foreign experts to advise on innovative programmes designed for rapid development, but in some cases the advice has been counter-productive and has led to retardation and even failure. Examples can be seen in many countries, both large and small.

In Seychelles, five positive aspects of staffing and expertise are particularly worth highlighting.

- Because Seychelles was a small state it did not get an influx of colonial civil servants who would have left behind conservative traditions. Some larger countries are still unable to clear themselves of the influence of this type of personnel.
- Post-primary education was not fully developed until after Liberation, and so did not produce indigenous civil servants who would have perpetuated the old system.
- Seychellois society is relatively prosperous. It can produce forward-looking administrators who also have resources to introduce innovations.
- The Ministry of Education headquarters has very few expatriates. The number is around 15, of whom over half are in the curriculum unit. The others include a senior director, a financial controller, an assistant director, an engineer, an architect and an audio-visual technician. This number is small compared with the 300 expatriate educators employed in the nation's schools.
- Emigration has not appreciably affected the Ministry of Education.

Yet despite the small impact of emigration, the country as a whole, including the Ministry of Education, suffers from a severe shortage of both professional and support staff. The situation partly reflects the late expansion of secondary education. Not only are many posts vacant, but some of the people who do hold posts lack appropriate qualifications or experience. Particularly notable is the lack of classroom experience among planners and curriculum developers.

(c) Job Definition and Appraisal

The inevitable outcome of this manpower shortage is that some people have to undertake multiple functions. For example the financial controller also works as an assistant accountant; the Director of Educational Planning & Development also teaches; the Director of Administration also works as a computer operator; and curriculum development staff take responsibilities for school supervision and examinations. This may make it impossible for any single function to be done efficiently, and at times leads to frustration.

Yet even without a manpower shortage it is obvious that a country like Seychelles, with only 42 formal education institutions including the 12 schools of the polytechnic, cannot have posts purely reserved for specialists. In the few cases where posts are reserved, e.g. the architect and the engineer, there is a certain degree of underemployment.

The fact that many staff undertake multiple roles because of staff shortages often makes it difficult to draw up job definitions. However when the number of vacancies is reduced, jobs can be defined more precisely. It would not be correct to say that jobs are defined after people are appointed, but because of the large number of vacancies officers cannot always confine themselves to the posts to which they were appointed.

Appraisal of work is achieved by such processes as:

- observing the quality of the end-products,
- observing the techniques used in the execution of the duties,
- studying interpersonal relationships,
- visiting the work place and talking to the people concerned,
- soliciting information from co-workers in a casual way, and
- noting the remarks of those who are affected by the person concerned.

Official appraisal forms are completed jointly by employees and employers, and occasional inspections are carried out by superiors or their representatives. However, informal monitoring permits 'in-course' correction, which is essential in a state with many inexperienced administrators. Further, when working with a small pool of people, the emphasis of appraisal is mainly on training and on increasing efficiency. These objectives and processes seem more appropriate to a small and young nation trying to develop its civil service.

Informal appraisal is assisted by the nature of the socialist society. It is not uncommon to see a Principal Secretary or Director-General socialising with low-level employees. Class and economic barriers have diminished since Liberation, and outside the office people meet as equals. Moreover most people live on the island of Mahé, which is only 27 kilometres long. Close physical proximity encourages an informal flow of information which helps decision-makers to appraise their subordinates.

However, the disadvantage of this situation is that rumours circulate easily, causing problems for the officers concerned. And in such a small system it is difficult for individuals whose reputations have been justifiably or unjustifiably tarnished to work under a different boss or in a more distant place.

(d) Recruitment and Promotion

In a population so small that people are well known to each other, it is sometimes difficult to preserve neutral recruitment procedures. However, in one respect the shortage of manpower reduces this problem. When so few qualified staff are available for posts, there is no choice but to give the posts to the few people who are qualified. In fact in Seychelles the appointment of inexperienced and sometimes irrelevantly qualified people is not usually due to favouritism or nepotism but more commonly to the absence of suitably qualified local personnel. For instance, new graduates without the necessary experience and specialised skills are sometimes used for curriculum development.

For appointment to posts where specialised qualifications are not required, as in administration, heavy weight is placed on the applicants' attitudes and commitment. In these instances the pragmatic outlook of the society and the administration is evident.

Promotions within the Ministry are normally done not by advertisement and interviews but by selecting suitable people. In most cases personal files are only consulted for confirmation of appointments. The small size of the system also facilitates transfers. For instance a headteacher who does not perform well may be tried in a different post without the time lag that accompanies such changes in larger systems. This is a strong advantage, for the small system which is also faced by manpower constraints can ill afford inefficiency or 'square pegs in round holes'.

(e) Professional Development

Although many staff need in-service training, Seychelles has no tertiary education institutions. Officers cannot easily be sent abroad because the Ministry is so short of staff, yet few trainers for in-service work are available within the country. To reduce these problems, overseas specialists are sometimes invited to conduct workshops, and expatriates already working in such areas as curriculum development are asked also to provide training. However, a great deal more is needed.

Within the operational wing of the Ministry, the greatest need for training is in the NYS secretariat. Requirements are especially urgent since it is an innovative section. A few Unesco advisers assisted in the early years, but they left without training more than a handful of people. Further in-service training is needed from Unesco, which has the expertise to handle NYS-type institutions. The polytechnic and primary sectors also need in-service training.

The Institute of Management run by the Ministry of Administration & Manpower operates sandwich courses and seminars in management techniques, but its preoccupation has been mostly with other ministries and with parastatal organisations. Educational administrators have not taken part in many Institute of Management seminars. However, weaknesses have been reduced by workshops run by visiting experts on school management. One notable example takes the form of long-term training in administration for the primary sector, operated in collaboration with the Canadian government.

In contrast to the bottom-heavy administrative pyramids of larger countries, Seychelles has a top-heavy structure. In larger countries the chances of an individual moving from the bottom to the top are remote, which causes frustration. A similar situation exists in smaller states like Seychelles for a different reason. An individual fresh from basic professional training will start somewhere near the top and then find that there are few more steps to go.

The irony is that both types of situation lead to a drain of qualified manpower to countries where greater opportunities are available. One method employed in Seychelles to overcome this problem is to switch personnel from one ministry to another in the hope that new environments and new responsibilities will boost motivation. This strategy is not entirely satisfactory, however, and can only be done with personnel who are not over-specialised or who have undergone retraining in different fields.

Thus over-specialisation tends to limit the chances of climbing up the ladder; but on the other hand units like audio-visual, finance, curriculum, and building design need highly specialised staff. This tension is not distinctive to small states, but may be more obvious. One strategy for tackling it is to retrain staff in allied or even different fields. For example a specialist in curriculum may undertake training in management and then go up the ladder by a different path. Versatility in skills is a necessity in small states for rising higher in the administrative ladder or even for changing jobs when there is no possibility of rising higher in the same field. To get the best out of each officer, individuals are placed in different roles and tried until they fit into suitable ones.

6. International Linkages

(a) Foreign Aid

Seychelles relies heavily on international linkages to reduce its isolation and assist with development. The Ministry of Education has a separate International Cooperation Unit headed by an Assistant Director directly under the Principal Secretary (Figure 3.1). This division deals with routine correspondence, maintains records, keeps track of requests from foreign organisations, responds to annual offers of aid within the stipulated times, coordinates the needs of the various divisions of the Ministry, and channels scholarships according to national priorities.

Because Seychelles has a relatively high per capita GNP, it is not eligible for concessional aid from donors and international agencies. However, Seychelles has a low level of human resource development. The country has to import many professionals, and the lack of a tertiary education institution imposes high training costs for local personnel. These factors require the little aid that flows in to be efficiently harnessed. This is the chief reason for establishment of the International Cooperation Unit. Many large countries handle foreign aid inefficiently. Because in Seychelles aid is vital, management has been placed directly under the Principal Secretary in a special division. One advantage of this arrangement is that it reduces bureaucratic procedures. The Unit is headed by an Assistant Director who under normal circumstances would only report to the Principal Secretary via a Director. By creating a direct reporting link, the Unit is able to function with one less bureaucratic layer.

Foreign assistance comes in three main forms. First, technologically more advanced countries offer bilateral aid. These countries include Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Cuba, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, India, Japan, Malaysia, Netherlands, Nigeria, North Korea, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the USA, and the USSR.

Second, Seychelles gains assistance from international and regional bodies. These include the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation (CFTC), Unesco, the World Health Organisation (WHO), the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Unicef, and the Commonwealth Youth Programme.

Aid projects may take many forms. Among them are:

- general scholarships, the duration of which is decided by the governmont of Seychelles;
- specific scholarships in areas that are needed for manpower development, e.g. in management (British Council), computer training and accountancy (USA), fine arts and sports (USSR), and tourism, trade and commerce (India);
- teachers for the NYS and the polytechnic;

- professionals for the Ministry headquarters, mainly in educational planning and the NYS;
- programmes of professional development, organised for example through Réunion Regional Cooperation and the University of Quebec;
- training of personnel to develop skills e.g. in computer technology, fisheries, music and management;
- links with agencies to develop special areas such as special education (Canada), science, mathematics and English (UK), and family-life education (UNFPA); and
- material aid e.g. in the form of sports equipment (China, USSR), electronic equipment for the polytechnic (Switzerland), and audio-visual materials (France).

The third category of aid includes certain institutions contracted by the Ministry to support its activities. They include the University of Sussex (UK), which admits groups of about 25 students who have begun B.Ed. courses at the Seychelles Polytechnic and who complete their courses in England. The University of Sussex was selected after a careful tendering process in which three other UK institutions were also invited to make bids. The Ministry also has a contract with the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, which conducts first- and second-level secondary examinations and advises on evaluation techniques.

The largest foreign aid inputs are for tertiary education scholarships. About 100 long-term and about 50 short-term scholarships become available each year. This means that roughly six of every 100 students who enter the secondary education system have the chance of foreign professional, vocational or tertiary education.

(b) Expatriate Personnel

The experts who come to advise on specialist fields are comparatively few. This is partly because of the high percentage of expatriate teachers, who represent one in every three teachers in the whole system. These expatriates come from many countries, including the UK, France, Belgium, Australia, India, Sri Lanka, Mauritius, Malaysia, Cuba, Yugoslavia, Madagasgar and Ireland.

In addition, as noted above, 15 expatriates are employed in the Ministry of Education headquarters. The presence of these highly qualified and experienced personnel reduces the need for expertise in assessment and for independent advice. They help create a critical climate within the system, and provide information on the ways that problems are tackled in other countries.

However, the diversity of nationalities and cultures has its drawbacks. For instance because the teachers come from markedly different school systems, they tend to have divergent views on appropriate directions for change. Teachers from India, for example, come from a system where education is different in different states, but in which all states follow a national policy on curriculum. On the other hand, teachers from Sri Lanka are used to a highly centralised system in which education from grade 1 to upper secondary is provided for each district on a model very similar to that in Seychelles. Teachers from Mauritius and Malaysia come from systems in which private schools play a much stronger role.

With this diversity it is not surprising that advice is not always in harmony, and that experimentation has sometimes had to be abandoned or modified at the cost of lost manpower for the much-needed development processes of the country. The handful of experienced Seychellois at the top levels of the Ministry have to exercise their judgement over the appropriateness of advice and experimentation.

(c) Management of Information

International links are associated with considerable flows of information. Even before projects begin, someone knowledgeable in the subject area has to study the nature of potential assistance, the conditions on which it is offered, and the suitability of proposals to the Seychelles situation. This invariably requires information to pass through more than one division. The International Cooperation Unit takes main responsibility, but its staff have to chase officers in other departments and undertake what can be a time-consuming and difficult task.

Regular reports must be written on every foreign project. These have to go to the donors in time for them to evaluate requests and finalise their commitments each year. Most organisations also require project-completion reports of various kinds. These reports are vital, for they give the donors an idea of how the assistance was used and to what extent it really helped the country. Future flows of aid depend to a large extent on timely provision of detailed reports. This is among the tasks of the International Cooperation Unit. The fact that there is a specialist division for this work helps overcome the shortage of personnel. But at times even this system fails, and reports sometimes get stuck in the pipeline.

Another type of report is requested by such international bodies as

Unesco, Unicef, UNFPA and the Commonwealth Secretariat. These reports are mainly for updating information on the progress of education and on the utilisation of foreign assistance.

Although the International Cooperation Unit coordinates these activities, it has to rely on staff in many other divisions, including the NYS and the polytechnic. A particularly large number of requests is sent to the Educational Planning & Development Division, which is already understaffed and which must delay other important work. Recently, the authorities have tried to reduce difficulties by seeking the assistance of experienced and qualified expatriates in such units as the NYS and the polytechnic.

Matters of information retrieval are also receiving attention. There have been serious problems in this, partly because of the inadequate nature of records. To help address this problem, a separate archive was recently created for the Ministry of Education. The archive is striving to extract information from various sources, though is finding the process slow. Documentation difficulties are also reflected in the fact that there have been no annual reports on education since Independence.

Some attempt is being made in the NYS and administration divisions to computerise information. This process is only in its initial stages and progress so far has been slow because of the lack of specialist personnel. This start is in the right direction, however, and it will bring Seychelles into the modern era of communication. It will help the people who have to prepare reports to gain rapid access to information.

7. The Culture of the Ministry

This part of the chapter is chiefly concerned with the professionals and the secretaries who form about 60 per cent of headquarters personnel. The cleaners, drivers and other personnel influence the culture only marginally. The 60 per cent represent 8 per cent of the personnel employed by the Ministry in the country as a whole. The culture of the Ministry is partly shaped by the small size of the organisation, though it is also influenced by the rate of staff turnover, the extent of centralisation, management and decision-making styles, and the nature of officers' training and experience.

(a) Interpersonal Relations and Personal Impact

The fact that officers in the Directorate know personally not only those in the headquarters but also many staff in the schools greatly assists operation of the system. For example it helps senior officers to know where to turn when needing help with data processing or curriculum development. The fact that the work of individuals may easily be recognised may be advantageous both to those individuals and to the system as a whole.

However dynamism can also breed resentment among co-workers, and this may create problems for enterprising officers. Such resentment is particularly likely to arise when enthusiasts overstep the natural pace of society. Seychellois society is generally slow-moving, and people attend to their activities in an unruffled manner. Individuals who try to move too fast may be considered disruptive.

Growth in such a small system is retarded by the lack of interplay of diverse talents. Many things are taken for granted in this homely small system, including the potential of individuals and the need to follow up. For example if an officer is made responsible for development of a subject curriculum, it is simply assumed that that officer will perform well. If performance is poor, top decisions-makers are unlikely to know about it unless they are themselves specialists in that area. The quality of output of work in curriculum development, financial planning etc. cannot be gauged from the standard appraisal form that is filled out by superiors, for in many cases the superiors themselves are inexperienced and may not be conversant in these specialist fields.

Small systems like that in Seychelles can maximise the advantages of small size in several ways. In particular, officers should make the effort to get to know everyone in the Ministry from top to bottom. One way to do this is to organise periods in which Ministry staff live together for two or more days and devote 'brain storming' sessions to identification of problems and bottlenecks. Solutions can be formulated in small groups that have an informal atmosphere of frank and quiet reflection. These small groups should be composed of staff from different sections and ranks. This living together can facilitate understanding of human behaviour, and can promote interaction among co-workers. It can also permit senior staff to identify new talents, re-examine existing impressions, and monitor the performance of young officers.

(b) Styles of Decision-Making

While some decisions are made at the top of the system and handed down, a great deal of decision-making is by consensus achieved at committee meetings. The fact that many division heads are inexperienced perhaps makes this style of decision-making especially important. Each division has a Steering Committee which meets at regular intervals and makes decisions on day-to-day matters. Membership of these Steering Committees includes officers from peripheral units as well as from headquarters.

Major policy decisions are considered by the Central Management Committee which consists of the Minister, the Principal Secretary and the division heads. Although consensus is the rule, the views of the Minister carry greater weight, especially in political issues. Similarly the Principal Secretary has a greater say both in the Central Management Committee and in the Steering Committees.

Considerable influence is also exercised by the professionals who sit on various committees. Such professionals often prepare working documents to explain their views. It is advantageous for professional educationists to be able to influence procedures in this way, though the problem in Seychelles is that many of these people have little experience and sometimes advance proposals of doubtful soundness.

The committee structure also helps disseminate information. Whereas in larger organisations information flows through circulars and bulletins, in Seychelles greater reliance is placed on face-to-face dissemination at meetings. For example the weekly Steering Committee meeting of NYS decides the dates and details of quiz competitions. This is passed on to NYS village officials by the Village Coordinator, who is both a member of the Steering Committee and chairman of the Village Coordinating Committee. Sometimes the Village Coordinator either forgets to transmit the interpretation or does so wrongly. This can of course create major problems, but the impact is usually mitigated by the 'backup' network of informal contacts.

8. Conclusions

With only 67,000 people, Seychelles certainly has a small population. The country is also composed of many islands scattered over a vast area. However, administration is made easier by the fact that the bulk of the population is concentrated on the island of Mahé.

In the post-Independence era the government has placed the highest priority on education. It has also promoted a great deal of innovation, of which the most prominent aspect is the National Youth Service. Whereas before Independence education was a relatively small enterprise within the Ministry of Education, Labour & Social Services, by 1989 it was considered sufficiently important to deserve a Ministry in its own right.

To some extent the structure of the Ministry reflects the specific nature of the Seychelles system. One obvious example is the framework for administration of the NYS. Another example is the existence of the International Cooperation Unit and the special place it has in the organisation. Yet the Ministry also bears a strong resemblance to other Ministries of Education in much larger countries. It operates as a self-contained body, and with 519 establishment posts is certainly not insignificant in size.

However, it has been pointed out in this chapter that many establishment posts are unfilled. This partly reflects a scarcity of qualified manpower within the country. Moreover the full establishment should not necessarily be taken as an indication of the actual needs of the Ministry because the total number of posts has been increased by 10 to 20 per cent as a buffer against the frequent turnover of posts. It is not the intention to fill all these posts but instead to hold them to permit flexibility and paid training.

The chapter has pointed out that to some extent underemployment may be found, especially in areas requiring highly specialised personnel. Greater sharing of such staff as the engineer and architect across ministries would be a highly desirable step in a situation like this. Similarly, use of personnel from other ministries would help alleviate shortages in the Ministry of Education. On the other hand, generalists and those who have versatile specialities are often overworked because of manpower shortages and frequent vacancies. It is sometimes difficult in a small country to find the right balance.

The facts that most people live on the small island of Mahé and that they are relatively modern with few in-built traditions makes innovation easy. This is also conducive to a 'rolling' type of administration according to the new priorities and demands. Two important additional features are that the government has achieved a great deal in its goal of a classless society, and that the general pace of life is slow. This has permitted good interaction, and has allowed informal channels to operate both for the flow of information and for the appraisal of the work of subordinates.

Part II: Asia

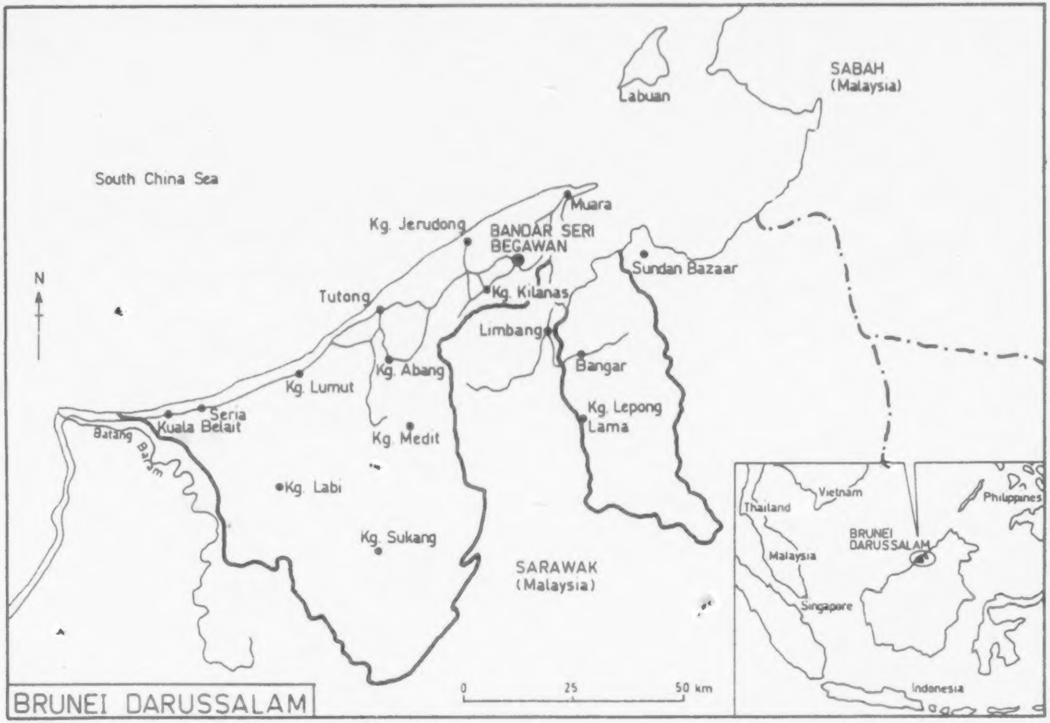
Chapter 4: Brunei Darussalam

Lim Jock Jin & C.J. Nuttman

Population (1988): 241,000
Population Growth Rate (1980-88): 3.4% per annum
Land Area: 5,765 square kilometres
Capital: Bandar Seri Begawan
GNP per Capita (1989): US$17,000
Year of Independence: 1984
Primary School Enrolment Rate (1988): 63%
Human Development Index (1987): 0.770

With 241,000 people and an area of 5,765 square kilometres, Brunei Darussalam is certainly small in population and area. However, the country also has one of the highest per capita incomes in the world. In the context of this book this permits interesting comparative analysis, for whereas many other small states face constraints of poverty as well as size, this is not the case in Brunei Darussalam. This difference in the overall financial environment within the country allows some of the implications of small size to be seen more clearly.

Brunei Darussalam was a British protectorate from 1906 to 1983, during which time it was known simply as Brunei. The longer name was adopted at the time of independence, and means 'Abode of Peace'. The country is surrounded by two Malaysian states called Sabah and Sarawak. During the 1960s the possibility of joining the Malaysian federation was considered. However in 1963 the decision was made to remain a protectorate of the United Kingdom. In 1975, the United Nations General Assembly called for general elections and for British withdrawal from Brunei. Negotiations in 1978, followed by assurances


South China Sea
Labuan
SABAH
(Malaysia)
Muara
Kg. Jerudong
BANDAR SERI
BEGAWAN
Sundan Bazaar
N
Kg. Kilanas
Tutong
Limbang
Kg. Abang
Bangar
Kg. Lumut
Kg. Lepong
Lama
Seria
Kuala Belait
Batang
Baram
Kg. Medit
Kg. Labi
Kg. Sukang
SARAWAK
(Malaysia)
0
25
50 km
BRUNEI DARUSSALAM
Vietnam
Thailand
Philippines
BRUNEI
DARUSSALAM
Malaysia
Singapore
Indonesia

from Malaysia and Indonesia that they would respect Brunei's sovereignty, led to a 1979 agreement that Brunei would become fully independent within five years.

The economy has in recent years depended on the export of oil and natural gas, but the government aims to reduce dependence on this source of income by diversifying the economy. Much of the natural resource endowment is in effect being converted into external financial assets, the management of which is likely to play an increasing role in the economy in the coming years. The authorities are keen both to reduce import dependency and to achieve self sufficiency in food production. Development projects are dependent on skilled labour, but the small size and other characteristics of the local workforce make necessary the employment of foreign workers, especially from Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand.

Politically, Brunei Darussalam is a sovereign, democratic, Malay, Muslim monarchy. At present its government has 12 ministries. The appointment of ministers and the creation of new ministries are directly controlled by the Head of State, His Majesty the Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan.

1. National Education Policy and Objectives

The government of Brunei Darussalam sees education as a continuing endeavour to develop the all-round potential of the individual. The system is designed to bring into being an educated and devout, as well as dynamic, disciplined and responsible people. Their virtues should be complementary with the needs of the State and founded on spiritual values which are noble in the sight of Allah.

The main aims of the national education policy are:

1. To foster national identity which will form a foundation for the growth of obedience to Allah s.w.t. and His Prophet, loyalty to the Monarch and love towards the Brunei State; and to build both efficiency and flexibility in the education system in order to meet the development needs of the country.
2. To give all children in Brunei Darussalam an opportunity to play a useful role in national development, so as to fulfil all the needs of the country through the involvement of the people themselves.
3. To inculcate Islamic values in each individual so that all will obey, show forth and hold high the teachings of Islam.
4. To uphold and implement a system of education in which the

Malay language, by the grace of Allah, will continue to play an important role as the National Language, while at the same time recognising the international value of English.

5. To cultivate in each individual the values and cultural norms of Brunei society, centred on the principle of a Malay Islamic Monarchy.

The number of education institutions is set out in Table 4.1. Children enter government schools at the age of five, and stay at the pre-school level for one year before proceeding to six years of primary education. At the end of primary school, pupils sit the Primary Certificate of Education examination before proceeding to the secondary level.

Table 4.1: Numbers of Schools and Pupils, Brunei Darussalam

		Schools	Pupils
Government Schools (1989)	Pre-School	116	3,820
	Primary	116	30,194
	Secondary	16	15,518
Non-Government Schools (1988)	Pre-School	40	2,148
	Primary	26	9,061
	Secondary	10	2,782

The secondary level lasts for seven years: three years in lower secondary, plus two years to the Ordinary Level course, and another two years in higher secondary or pre-university forms. After completing their sixth form education, students with adequate and relevant Advanced Level results may apply for higher education either locally or abroad. The government gives scholarships to students who have been accepted on suitable courses at the Universiti Brunei Darussalam or at universities or polytechnics overseas.

Some children in private institutions enter pre-school at age four and undergo schooling for two years before proceeding to primary education. The duration of each level of schooling is the same as for the government system.

Approximately 5 per cent of the budget is allocated to education. Schooling is free for citizens in government institutions, and tuition, textbooks, transport and accommodation in hostels for students from rural areas are free for all citizens. Snacks in urban and suburban schools and lunches in remote rural schools are also provided free. Non-citizens are charged a nominal fee for secondary tuition.

At the post-secondary level several institutions provide specialised training. They include the Mechanical Training Centre, the Jefri Bolkiah College of Engineering, the Sultan Saiful Rizal Technical College, the P.A.P. Rashidah Sa'adatul Bolkiah College of Nursing, the Institute Technology Brunei, and the Universiti Brunei Darussalam. The university has four faculties with approximately 200 staff and 900 students.

2. The Ministry of Education

(a) Overall Organisation

When the Ministerial structure was created at the time of Independence, education was administered by the Ministry of Education & Health. In 1986 the two functions were split, and the Ministry of Education is now a separate entity. The structure of the Ministry is shown in Figure 4.1.

At the apex of the Ministry are the Minister and Deputy Minister. They are responsible for decisions on all policy matters. The Minister of Education is also the Vice-Chancellor of the Universiti Brunei Darussalam.

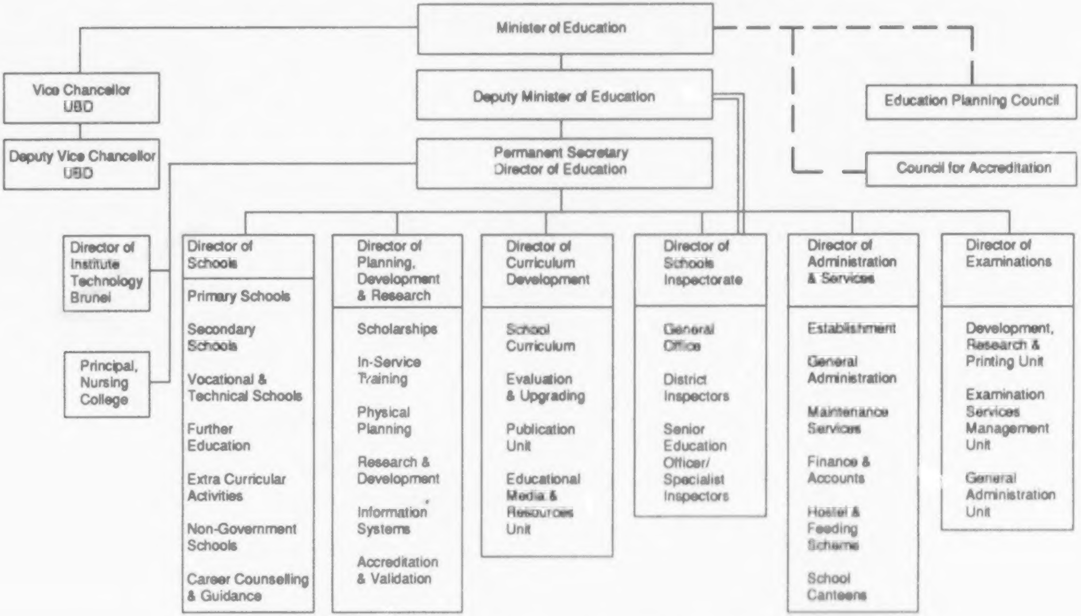
The Permanent Secretary is the administrative head of the Ministry and concurrently the Director of Education having responsibility for professional matters. The Permanent Secretary also heads his own section, consisting of officers with special responsibility for ministerial, administrative and international affairs, including public relations.

The Ministry has six major departments, within each of which are a number of sections. All the directors of departments are responsible to the Permanent Secretary. The departments are entitled:

- Schools,
- Planning, Development & Research,
- Curriculum Development,
- Schools Inspectorate,
- Administration & Services, and
- Examinations.

The Educational Planning Council consists of the Minister, Deputy Minister, Permanent Secretary and all Directors. It provides a forum for discussion of major policy and planning issues. The Council for Accreditation is chaired by the Minister of Education, and includes

Figure 4.1: The Ministry of Education, Brunei Darussalam (1991)


Minister of Education
Deputy Minister of Education
Permanent Secretary Director of Education
Vice Chancellor UBD
Deputy Vice Chancellor UBD
Education Planning Council
Council for Accreditation
Director of Institute Technology Brunei
Principal, Nursing College
Director of Schools
Primary Schools
Secondary Schools
Vocational & Technical Schools
Further Education
Extra Curricular Activities
Non-Government Schools
Career Counselling & Guidance
Director of Planning, Development & Research
Scholarships
In-Service Training
Physical Planning
Research & Development
Information Systems
Accreditation & Validation
Director of Curriculum Development
School Curriculum
Evaluation & Upgrading
Publication Unit
Educational Media & Resources Unit
Director of Schools Inspectorate
General Office
District Inspectors
Senior Education Officer/ Specialist Inspectors
Director of Administration & Services
Establishment
General Administration
Maintenance Services
Finance & Accounts
Hostel & Feeding Scheme
School Canteens
Director of Examinations
Development, Research & Printing Unit
Examination Services Management Unit
General Administration Unit

═ Note: The Director of Schools Inspectorate refers professional matters direct to the Deputy Minister of Education

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members from other ministries. Its primary role is to decide on matters of recognition and equivalence of qualifications.

(b) The Departments of the Ministry

(i) The Department of Schools is concerned with the direct administration of schools and colleges. It has seven sections, covering primary schools, secondary schools/sixth form, vocational & technical schools, further education, extra-curricular activities, non-government schools, and career counselling & guidance.

(ii) The Department of Planning, Research & Development has six sections, covering scholarships, in-service training, physical planning, research & development, information systems, and accreditation & validation. The responsibilities of the Department include:

- conducting educational research;
- monitoring and identifying issues and problems, and making appropriate recommendations;
- collecting, organising and preparing education statistics and data;
- supervising permanent school buildings and teachers' housing projects;
- conducting and arranging internal and external courses, seminars and workshops for officers and staff of the Ministry; and
- administering internal and overseas scholarship awards.

(iii) The Department of Curriculum Development has four components entitled the School Curriculum Unit, the Evaluation & Upgrading Unit, the Publication Unit, and the Educational Media & Resource Unit. The roles of the Department are:

- to study, plan and prepare curricular programmes for schools in accordance with National Education Policy;
- to prepare and produce books, including textbooks, workbooks, teaching aids, educational media programmes and curricular materials such as school syllabuses and teachers' guides;
- to carry out controlled experiments and tests in the classroom of the various curricular programmes and materials;
- to evaluate and improve curricular programmes and other materials prepared from time to time so as to determine their suitability, and to monitor the quality of the curricular materials produced;

- to give guidance to teachers in the use of the prepared programmes and teaching aids so that the teachers are properly oriented in the use of these materials;
- to disseminate information relating to the innovation and implementation of the curriculum; and
- to review, evaluate and recommend basic textbooks, supplementary and reference books, as well as other teaching/learning aids for use in schools.

(iv) The Department of Schools Inspectorate has three main functions, namely:

- to keep the Ministry of Education informed on the state of schools and educational institution;
- to inspect schools in order to ensure that adequate standards of teaching are developed and maintained; and
- to advise principals, headmasters and teachers on matters pertaining to teaching methods.

(v) The Department of Administration & Services has six sections covering the establishment, general administration, maintenance services, finance & accounts, the hostel & feeding scheme, and school canteens. The responsibilities of the Department include:

- establishment, increment, promotion, discipline, confirmation of post, retirement, appointment and recruitment of daily-paid staff, and renewal and termination of contracts;
- vacancies, advertisement and interview;
- filing and despatch;
- schemes for loans, allowances, grants, etc.;
- records of service and leave;
- land ownership and personal guarantor recommendation;
- office management and services, annual estimates;
- land and marine transportation;
- housing;
- tender, quotation and write-off;
- purchase of office stationery and office/school cleaning materials;
- maintenance and repair of buildings and furniture;
- store supervision; and
- labour supervision and maintenance of tools.

(vi) The Department of Examinations is mainly concerned with three types of examination, namely the Brunei Junior Certificate of Education (BJCE) which is taken at the end of Form 3, the Brunei Cambridge General Certificate of Education (GCE) 'O' Level examination which is taken at the end of Form 5, and the Brunei Cambridge GCE 'A' Level examination which is taken at the end of Sixth Form. The BJCE is set internally, but the GCE examinations are set and administered jointly with the international branch of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UK).

The administration and management of the Department of Examinations is divided into three units, namely the Development, Research & Printing Unit, the Examination Services & Management Unit, and the General Administration Unit. In conducting its work, the Department has to:

- examine and assess the results of the teaching process and expenditure through the management of every public examination;
- analyse statistics, and provide feedback to schools and colleges; and
- study and assess tests in order to improve the competency of technical equipment and examinations.

3. Personnel

The government localises posts whenever possible, and localisation has been achieved to a large extent within the 'administrative' departments of the Ministry of Education. Within the schools, however, the situation is different. There is a major shortage of local teachers qualified to teach at sixth form level, particularly in science. Also, the policy of bilingualism necessitates both the teaching of English as a separate subject and the use of English in a range of disciplines. Local manpower must for the time being be supplemented from overseas.

The Schools Department faces a particular problem because the teaching profession appears to be regarded as an educated pool from which other employers can draw. Also, many local teachers see the advancement of their careers not in the teaching profession as such, but in the administration. Even relatively junior administrative posts may be sought as a way to leave schools and join the administrative ladder. The administration is perceived as offering both better working conditions and enhanced promotion prospects. Some sections, such as the Inspectorate and the Curriculum Development Department normally expect to recruit only experienced teachers, and senior officers appear to prefer, in principle, to recruit into the Ministry those with direct experience of the school system.

As an alternative to the recruitment of expatriates, a strong staff development policy is being implemented, with training and education being available within the Ministry, through the Civil Service Training Unit, or by secondment overseas. Performance on courses is seen as one way to appraise staff for possible promotion.

The loss of senior, experienced staff for long periods clearly stretches scarce resources, and this has led to particular interest in distance learning and opportunities for part-time study. The latter will clearly be facilitated by the presence of the newly-established University, which provides undergraduate and in-service courses in Arts, Management & Administration, and Arts & Science Education.

4. Work Characteristics

(a) The Social Context

Most of the administrative departments of the Ministry of Education are located in a single building, and most schools and colleges are easily accessible. The Ministry operates in a complex web of professional, social and kin networks, the nature of which is strongly influenced by the small size of the country.

This milieu may be perceived in different ways. To some officers it seems to offer opportunities for faster and more effective communication, albeit sometimes of an informal nature. This may presume that individuals are likely to respond more promptly and positively to people that they already know. Also, requests may be targetted to individuals rather than anonymous departments.

Yet to others, the milieu presents problems. For example, as there is strong security of tenure, management style has to reflect the need to sustain workable relationships at many levels. There is an often expressed preference for requesting or persuading rather than instructing. Individuals may be particularly sensitive to criticism which is open and confrontational in the 'western' mode. They may prefer more indirect, which are seen locally as more sensitive, means to resolve problems. This includes the consultative approach reflected in the word *mesyuarah*. A formalised system of staff appraisal highlights such issues. One such system has recently been introduced in a common format throughout the government service by the Establishment Department of the Prime Minister's Office.

The existence of personal links may lead to an expectation among colleagues that agreement over particular issues will necessarily be forthcoming, i.e. that it will be more difficult to say "no". Those experiencing such pressure may appeal to procedures specified by the Ministry or in the General Order in an effort to depersonalise their decisions. Where differences do occur, particular care is required. Any lack of frankness is likely to be exposed in the longer run in such a small setting, and could be counterproductive.

The management of confidential material such as personal files or examinations also becomes more difficult in a small society. This is true both in the procedures required and in the potential pressures from within and outside the Ministry. The considerable mix of information systems, from traditional files to computer-based storage, adds to the problem.

(b) Specialisation

The view of specialisation varies considerably through the Ministry. Some Departments, such as Examinations, have a relatively specific brief, and tend to be seen as not requiring specialist skills beyond general administrative skills and experience of the education system. On the other hand Inspectorate staff tend to be recruited as specialists in particular subjects. However, such specialists may also have to take responsibility for administration. The Department of Planning, Development & Research has a wide brief which places particular demands on senior staff and must be taken into account in the selection of staff.

There is considerable mobility within the Ministry. Staff who are adaptable outside the confines of their original specialisations usually have greater opportunities for progression.

(c) Coordination

Coordination is a widespread problem in young bureaucratic systems. An important feature in the Ministry of Education is the weekly meeting of all Directors of Departments. The Minister, Deputy Minister and/or Permanent Secretary may also attend. The meetings provide a regular forum for vertical and horizontal coordination and discussion of broader issues. Formal information flows involve the use of minutes of meetings, departmental circulars and memoranda. Such flows are strongly reinforced by informal meetings and communication at all levels.

Delegation of authority when people are absent is not generally perceived as a problem among senior staff. The chief reason is that others normally act for their colleagues on a temporary basis. However, whilst formal authority to act may be arranged among senior staff, it is less usual at junior level. In these cases staff absences may require handling in some other fashion.

(d) Decision-Making Styles

While decisions on routine procedural aspects of the Ministry's operation may be taken at almost every level of the system, those decisions which are deemed to concern 'policy' must carry the authority of the Minister or Deputy Minister. Apart from major and obvious issues, however, interpretations may differ among less senior staff about what should or should not be classified as policy or procedure.

Once a clear decision is taken at the highest level, implementation is effected through a hierarchical system. It would not normally be seen as appropriate for decisions to be questioned from below, though there is sometimes scope for individual decisions about the promptness of handling instructions.

Senior staff have a clear preference for a consensus style of decision-making. Consultation would normally occur within a particular sphere of the hierarchy, or within one level above or below, in order to establish a coalition of support. There is thereby a reduced emphasis on individualistic action or proposals, although this is still possible.

(e) Centralisation/Decentralisation

The degree of centralisation is not generally perceived as an administrative issue, given the small size of the education system and the country as a whole. The population, and therefore schools, colleges and Ministries, are concentrated in the Brunei-Muara District and nearby coastal region.

The above comments on decision-making style are pertinent in this respect. Authority to act on substantial issues or those involving the use of resources tends to be centrally located. Nevertheless, since 1987 school Principals have been given greater flexibility of action with regard to budgeting and spending.

In terms of the procedures adopted by the administration, there is a high degree of standardisation. This is to some extent linked with the requirement to follow general government procedures on budgeting, purchasing etc.. For example, if the Ministry recruits a graduate as a junior administrator, a particular salary has to be paid and there is little flexibility to discriminate between the more able recruit with more responsibility and the less able with a more routine job. The processes of recruitment and of work appraisal also have to follow standardised government procedures.

5. Relationships with Other Organisations

Whilst it is not uncommon for senior officials to have commitments outside their own ministries, the practice affects some ministries more than others. For example, Finance tends to be more affected than Education.

Nevertheless, one prominent example of sharing concerns the Minister of Education, who is concurrently Vice-Chancellor of the Universiti Brunei Darussalam. As the latter is a young, developing institution, the time commitment is significant.

Another major area of essential collaboration concerns staff recruitment and promotion. The Ministry of Education determines its requirements for new posts and staff levels, and drafts suitable advertisements for publication. Prior approval for such posts has to be obtained from the Establishment Department of the Prime Minister's Office. The Public Service Commission must also be involved if a specific appointment is being considered. For example a Commission member must sit on the board which interviews shortlisted candidates. Final proposals for appointments must then be sent to the Prime Minister for approval.

Salaries and allowances of all government employees (whether local or expatriate) are paid through the Treasury, which is part of the Ministry of Finance. Liaison between the Ministry of Education and the Treasury over salary and other entitlements is therefore essential. The principal section involved in the Ministry of Education is the Department of Administration & Services.

Departments of the Ministry of Development must be consulted about proposals for new buildings or major modifications or repairs to existing buildings. Implementation may be through the Public Works Department and/or through private contractors, and liaison is through the Department of Planning, Development & Research and the Department of Administration & Services.

The private sector also plays a role. For example tenders are invited to supply equipment and consumables to the Ministry. This includes printing, publishing, and the supply of food for school canteens.

The most prominent company in the country is Brunei Shell Petroleum. The company provides bursaries and scholarships for local students to pursue studies relevant to the company's fields of interest, e.g. in physical sciences, mathematics and engineering. The Sinaut Agricultural Training Centre was formerly a joint venture between Brunei Shell Petroleum and the Government. It was formally handed over in 1987 to be fully administered by the government, and now comes under the auspices of the Ministry of Industry & Primary Resources. There remains a continuing dialogue between the company and the government about appropriate collaborative arrangements in education.

Finally, close liaison is maintained with the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which administers the Religious Teachers Training College and the Religious Schools. Islamic Religious Education now forms part of the curriculum in all education institutions.

6. International Links

The Ministry is affiliated to a wide range of international organisations, reflecting historical and cultural links as well as the implementation of specific initiatives. Close bilateral links have long existed with the United Kingdom, Malaysia and Singapore. Recent years have brought increasing links with Australia, Canada and the USA.

Brunei Darussalam also plays a strong role in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and in the South East Asian Ministers' of Education Organisation (SEAMEO). Brunei Darussalam has provided considerable financial support for SEAMEO institutions, including INNOTECH in the Philippines, the Regional English Language Centre in Singapore, and RECSAM in Malaysia. Responsibility for liaison between these bodies and the Ministry tends to rest with the senior officers of the Permanent Secretary's office or with the Department of Planning, Development & Research.

Because the country is both small and young, the Ministry has to rely on outsiders for certain types of professional expertise. Table 4.2 indicates the principal areas in which external consultants were employed in 1988 and 1989.

Another aspect of small size is reflected in the examination system. In order both to avoid the manpower strains that would arise if Brunei Darussalam ran all its examinations, and to gain the international recognition of a widely-known certificate, the government has continued to make use of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate. If Brunei Darussalam were larger, it would have a larger pool of professionals from which to draw qualified staff, and it could

Table 4.2: External Consultants Employed in Brunei Darussalam, 1988-89

No. of Persons	Focus	Period	Agency
1	teacher supply for government schools	2 months	IDP (Australia)
1	reading skills	2-3 weeks	Singapore Ministry of Education
2	management course for headteachers	2 weeks	Malaysia Ministry of Education
1	assessment and implementation of school curriculum		Malaysia Ministry of Education
5	curriculum and other areas in technical and vocational education	2 years	Assoc'n of Community Colleges of Canada
1	management course for principals and headmasters	2 weeks	

establish its own system which would have sufficient weight to attract its own recognition. But with the country's small size adherence to Cambridge seems to provide the best strategy, especially since the Examinations Syndicate is prepared to offer subjects specially tailored to local syllabuses.

7. Conclusions

The fact that Brunei Darussalam is very wealthy has enabled it to evade some of the constraints of size faced by other small countries. The Ministry is not overburdened by a need to avoid financial diseconomies of small scale, and it has been able to import many teachers and materials.

However, even Brunei Darussalam faces some constraints from small size. For political reasons the government is anxious to promote localisation, especially in the decision-making parts of the Ministry. The authorities still find themselves hampered by shortages of qualified local manpower. In Brunei's case the manpower constraints arising from small size are exacerbated by the youth of the country and its previously underdeveloped education system.

Partly because of these factors, the Ministry is unable to offer some services which would be normal in larger, even if poorer, countries. For example the Ministry has no education psychologists or specialists in education for the handicapped. Likewise, although the Ministry can undertake some publishing, it is impossible to cater for the full range of subjects and levels.

To deal with the constraints of size, Brunei adopts some strategies which are common in most small states. Efforts to optimise the use of scarce expertise are exemplified in the fact that the Minister of Education is also Vice-Chancellor of the Universiti Brunei Darussalam. And while the government does run some examinations of its own, it has retained links with the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate. These links provide both technical expertise and recognition of qualifications in the wider world.

This chapter has also shown that Brunei Darussalam, like most other small states, is a close-knit and highly personalised society. This influences the operation of the Ministry both positively and negatively. On the positive side, colleagues know each other very well and have many informal channels of communication, but on the negative side close interpersonal relationships can sometimes make neutral decision-making very difficult.

Finally, it has been noted that the small geographic size of the country reduces the need for decentralisation of decision-making. In this sense the tasks facing the Ministry of Education are simplified. The fact that the Ministry can operate without district offices also avoids a further pressure on scarce manpower resources.

Chapter 5: Maldives

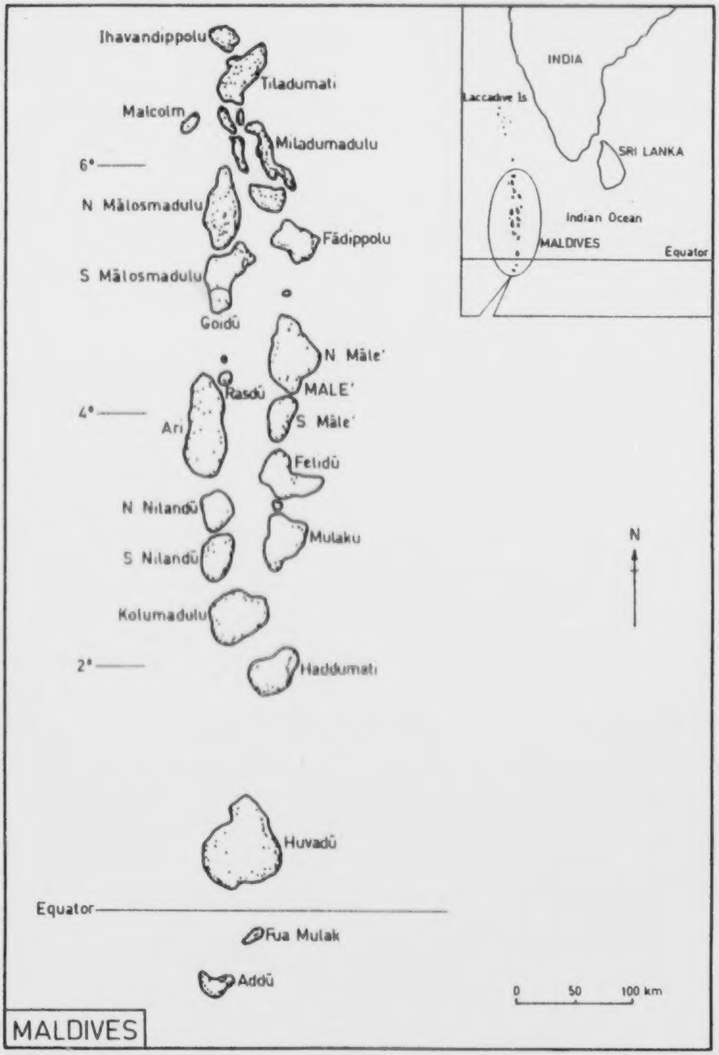
Mohammed Waheed Hassan

Population (1989): 200,000
Population Growth Rate (1980-88): 3.0% per annum
Land Area: 298 square kilometres
Sea Area: 100,000 square kilometres
Total Number of Islands: 1,096 (of which 202 inhabited)
GNP per Capita (1987): US$300
Year of Independence: 1965
Primary School Enrolment Rate (1989): 80%
Human Development Index (1987): 0.692

The Republic of Maldives is located in the Indian Ocean, to the south-west of Sri Lanka. The country has a population of 200,000, and feels both small and isolated. Development problems are exacerbated by spread of the population over a wide area and a large number of islands. However, Maldives does have some characteristics which make development planning less complex than in other states. For example almost everybody shares the same religion, Islam; and the national language, Dhivehi, is spoken throughout the country. Also, about a quarter of the population lives in Male', the capital.

Maldives became independent in 1965 after having been a British protectorate for nearly 80 years. The economy is primarily dependent on tourism and fishing. Significant economic inputs are also derived from foreign aid.

Responsibility for primary and secondary education is shared between the government and the private sector. Although in recent years the government sector has greatly expanded, it still covers only 40 per cent of the total number of institutions. Maldives has no university, and all tertiary students must therefore go abroad.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Malcolm
Miladumadulu
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INDIA
Laccadive Is
SRI LANKA
Indian Ocean
MALDIVES
Equator

1. Government and Public Administration

The government of Maldives is headed by an executive president who is elected for a period of five years. The executive branch of the government consists of the Office of the President together with various line ministries and departments. Heads of the ministries and some departments have direct access to the President, though heads of other departments must report through their respective ministers.

The government has nine ministries. This number is determined by developmental and personal factors. The functions assigned ministerial status include those which are of crucial importance to the economy, such as tourism, fishing, education, health, industry and transport. Ministerial status is also assigned to functions considered important to the governance of a modern independent state, such as foreign affairs, defence and justice. Functions such as communications, information and broadcasting have remained executive departments because their organisational goals and activities are more limited.

As in all small states, personalities are significant determinants of whether a government agency is a ministry or a department. Within ministries and departments, kinship, loyalty and patronage significantly influence the allocation of positions to individuals. As the country becomes more developed, however, there is increased pressure for efficiency and recognition of merit.

2. Responsibilities of the Ministry of Education

Until the early 1970s the principal functions of the Ministry were administration of three government schools in Male', and testing and certification of entrants to government jobs and to trades requiring special certification. Schools did exist outside Male', but they were private enterprises and were largely left to operate by themselves.

In an effort to strengthen and to broaden the Ministry of Education, international assistance was sought in the early 1970s. UNDP, Unesco and Unicef helped formulate development projects, and an Educational Projects Office was set up for implementation. This office later became the Educational Development Centre (EDC), the 'professional arm' of the Ministry.

The development and expansion of education has required many new activities. These include state-financed programmes of school construction, curriculum development, textbook production, teacher training, and distance education. In 1980 a new primary school syllabus was drawn up, and all primary schools are now required to teach the

National Primary School Curriculum. Most new schools were on the outer atolls. By 1990 the Ministry of Education administered 40 schools in the outer atolls and 10 schools in Male'.

3. Organisation of the Ministry of Education

The 1980s also witnessed establishment of some specialised agencies within the Ministry. Teacher training was separated from the Educational Development Centre to form an Institute of Teacher Education; the book production unit became the Printing Division, and the non-formal education section became the Non-formal Education Unit. Each new unit formulated its own dossiers and successfully attracted external finance.

The organisation chart of the Ministry is presented in Figure 5.1. The Ministry is divided into sections known as Divisions and Specialised Agencies. The seven Divisions are:

- Supervision & Services,
- Planning & Monitoring,
- Institutions Male',
- Institutions Atolls,
- Budget & Administration,
- External Relations & Scholarships, and
- Construction,

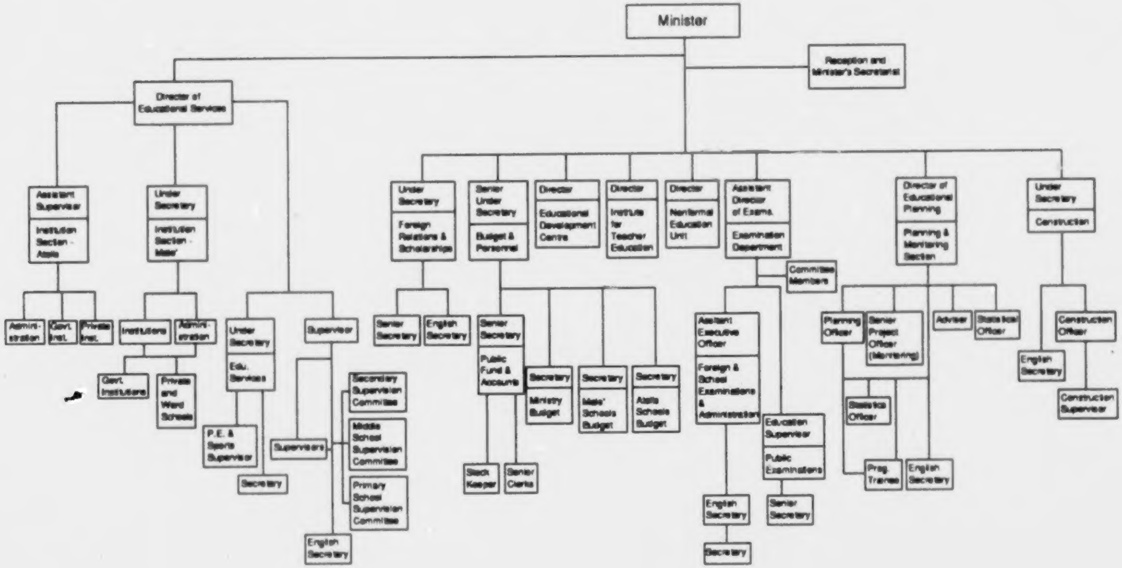
The seven specialised agencies are:

- The Examinations Unit,
- The Printing Unit,
- The Educational Development Centre,
- The Institute for Teacher Education,
- The Non-Formal Education Unit,
- The Centre for Management & Administration, and
- The Centre for English Language Teaching.

In addition, the Minister has his own Secretariat for administrative functions.

In Maldives, the role of the Minister differs from that in most other countries. The heads of the divisions and specialised agencies report directly to the Minister, who is not only the political head of the Ministry but also the professional and intellectual leader. This is made possible by an absence of marked distinctions between political, civil

Figure 5.1: The Ministry of Education, Maldives (1989)


Minister
Reception and Minister's Secretariat
Director of Educational Services
Assistant Supervisor
Institution Section - Atolls
Under Secretary
Institution Section - Male'
Administration
Govt. Inst.
Private Inst.
Institutions
Administration
Govt. Institutions
Private and Ward Schools
Under Secretary
Edu. Services
P.E. & Sports Supervisor
Secretary
Supervisor
Supervisors
Secondary Supervision Committee
Middle School Supervision Committee
Primary School Supervision Committee
English Secretary
Under Secretary
Foreign Relations & Scholarships
Senior Secretary
English Secretary
Senior Under Secretary
Budget & Personnel
Senior Secretary
Public Fund & Accounts
Stock Keeper
Senior Clerks
Secretary
Ministry Budget
Secretary
Male' Schools Budget
Secretary
Atolls Schools Budget
Director
Educational Development Centre
Director
Institute for Teacher Education
Director
Nonformal Education Unit
Assistant Director of Exams.
Examination Department
Committee Members
Assistant Executive Officer
Foreign & School Examinations & Administration
English Secretary
Secretary
Education Supervisor
Public Examinations
Senior Secretary
Director of Educational Planning
Planning & Monitoring Section
Planning Officer
Senior Project Officer (Monitoring)
Adviser
Statistical Officer
Statistics Officer
Prog. Trainee
English Secretary
Under Secretary
Construction
English Secretary
Construction Officer
Construction Supervisor

1 7

service and professional functions.

The flat top of the Ministry of Education, in which the heads of 14 divisions and specialised agencies report directly to the Minister, is to some extent a result of historical and political factors. While at first sight the structure would not appear optimal, it can work more easily in a small than in a large state. More people are directly known to the Minister in a small state than in a larger one, where relationships are more formal and impersonal.

Among those who report directly to the Minister are administrators, under secretaries, senior under secretaries, deputy directors, and directors. Although they have different job classifications and salary scales, their functional ranks as heads of divisions and specialised agencies are similar.

4. The Divisions of the Ministry of Education

To understand the organisation of the Ministry more clearly, it is useful to explain the functions of each of the seven divisions. Table 5.1 shows the establishment of these divisions and of the Minister's Secretariat. There are altogether 74 posts, though some are unfilled.

Table 5.1: Establishment of the Divisions of the Ministry of Education, Maldives

Division	Professional	Administrative	Clerical	Total
Supervision & Services	5	4	3	12
Planning & Monitoring	1	6	3	10
Institutions Male'	1	2	3	6
Institutions Atoll	1	2	4	7
Budget & Administration	-	5	16	21
External Relations & Scholarships	1	2	2	5
Construction	1	3	3	7
Minister's Secretariat	-	3	3	6
TOTAL	9	25	37	74

(a) The Supervision & Services Division

This division is responsible for the supervision of all government schools, and for organisation of extra-curricular activities, inter-school tournaments, competitions, workshops, seminars and other activities to improve the quality of education. The function of a school inspectorate has not been adequately performed by the section so far due to the lack of qualified staff. The division is now investigating the potential of committees of part-time staff, teacher educators, curriculum developers and senior teachers. This experiment is being tried in Male', but no system exists for supervision of schools in the outer atolls.

The Supervision & Services Division also prepares policy-support information for the National Education Council. This is a policy-planning function which arguably would be best served by the Planning & Monitoring Division. As will be noted below, however, this division is rather weak.

The Supervision & Services Division is headed by the Director of Education Services, who is assisted by an Under Secretary. A separate wing of the Division contains the Unesco National Commission.

(b) The Planning & Monitoring Division

The primary functions of the Planning & Monitoring Division are to collect and publish data on enrolments, facilities and teachers. The division has an advanced educational management information system, though as yet it has limited capacity for analysis. The division is small, and is often preoccupied with day-to-day implementation. The division has only one professional officer, who is supported by a statistics officer, two readers, one programmer, three clerks and a typist. Although ideally the division should evaluate as well as plan projects, in practice it lacks the capacity to do so.

The preparation of the first education plan, the Human Resources Development Plan (1985-95), required considerable inputs of external expertise. Unfortunately local expertise was not systematically developed in the process, with the result that educational planning became a one-time effort. In the absence of continuous review and revision, the first education plan rapidly became irrelevant.

Because the Planning & Monitoring Division is weak, policy-makers often find that a more useful source of information on educational needs and priorities is the community itself. In a small, transparent and accessible society the complaints of parents and other citizens can easily reach the highest authorities, and sometimes they have a rapid impact on policies. Recognising the value of community inputs, the Ministry of Education has organised several seminars and conferences. One recent gathering was entitled the National Convention for Consultations on Education. It was held in 1989 to obtain public views on education.

(c) Administration of Schools in Male'

Because about a quarter of the total population lives in Male', the largest and best schools are located there. A separate division in the Ministry is responsible for administration and financing of these schools. The head of the division is a Senior Under Secretary, who is assisted by three Secretaries, two Education Officers and two clerks.

In addition to recruitment of teachers, this division looks into complaints, handles transfers, and maintains records on all teachers recruited by the Ministry. Systematic record-keeping and easy retrieval of information is necessary to increase the efficiency of this section. It requires staff development and a more effective management information system.

Rapid expansion of the education system has brought excessive reliance on expatriate teachers. About 50 per cent of the primary school teachers in Male' and over 90 per cent of the secondary school teachers in the country are expatriates. Recruitment of teachers from Sri Lanka for the 50 government schools takes about half the time of at least two officials in the division for administration of Male' schools. The Maldives High Commission in Sri Lanka helps with recruitment. The absence of diplomatic representation elsewhere in the region is to some extent a constraint on recruitment from other countries. Because it is a poor and small state, in the short run Maldives will not be able to increase its diplomatic representation. To help solve this problem the Ministry envisages use of commercial firms and the assistance of the Ministries of Education of friendly countries.

(d) Administration of Schools in the Atolls

Of the 50 government schools, 40 are located in the outlying atolls. Heads of these institutions are directly responsible to the head of the division specifically concerned with the atolls. The division is responsible for recruitment, transfers and maintenance of records on all employees in these institutions. Except for the recruitment of expatriates who serve in atolls, the functions of this section are similar to those of the division for the administration of Male' schools. Immediate problems of administration and record-keeping are also similar, but the distance of the schools from Male' creates special problems. These include the procurement and distribution of materials for physical maintenance and construction. It is also difficult to provide regular supervision.

The division is staffed by an Assistant Supervisor, two Secretaries, one stock keeper and three clerks. The ratio of officers to schools is less favourable than in the division for administration of Male' schools.

(e) The Administration & Budget Division

This division is responsible for financial control and supervision of the Ministry, its specialised agencies, and the 50 government schools. Approval of annual budgets and expenditures is channelled through this section. The division also handles maintenance, procurement, recruitment and terminations. It covers the payrolls of the 68 Ministry employees and 500 teachers, and maintains the accounts for local and external funds.

Because of the high degree of centralisation, the work of the division is a key to the operation of the whole system. However, stringent financial regulations and the serious consequences of mismanagement or oversight make jobs in the section somewhat unattractive, which in turn causes high turnover. Finance clerks and secretaries do receive special salary incentives and overtime payments, but the general education level of employees in finance and administration remains lower than that in other sections.

Because of the difficulty in recruiting staff with adequate familiarity of financial rules and regulations, and because of high turnover, this division always has vacant posts and thus problems of workload. Staff commonly have to stay after hours just to get the minimum necessary work completed. However, in a small island the homes of employees are close to their offices. This facilitates such overtime work.

(f) The External Relations & Scholarships Division

The primary functions of this division are the coordination of international assistance for education, the placement of students in overseas institutions, and the administration of scholarships. Again, the work of this division is hampered by the lack of diplomatic representation. Records are maintained on all recipients of fellowships offered through the government, but the division requires a better information system on aid programmes, overseas courses, and the students in foreign institutions.

(g) The Construction Division

In recent years school construction and the provision of facilities have been major Ministry activities. In 1989, for example, the Construction Division managed over 20 projects. Contracts are issued by this division, and the implementation is monitored and supervised with engineering support from the Office of Physical Planning & Design (OPPD).

Lack of expertise in contract management and site supervision, coupled with procedural constraints on the timely procurement of building materials and supplies, have in some cases caused expensive delays. Many of the construction projects are in outlying islands where field supervisors are difficult to find. As a result, the head of this section has to travel extensively, sometimes with long absences from the office.

5. Issues in Management and Administration

(a) Job Definition and Appraisal

Individuals in small countries are often required to undertake multiple functions which in larger countries would be performed by several people. The overall functions of a Ministry of Education in a small country are not very different from those of a larger country. But the number of highly-skilled persons available to carry out those functions is much smaller in a small state. As a result, a typical administrator is required to perform multiple functions. For instance, an Under Secretary in charge of administration of schools may be required also to forecast student enrolment, engage in policy research, and interview candidates for teaching posts.

There are some advantages in having multi-functional administrators. Most obviously, scarce human resources are used more efficiently. Also, the multi-functional administrator develops a broader understanding of the organisation, and is able to fill in for colleagues. But one disadvantage is that the administrator's actual work time is divided over many disparate activities, with the result that the span and depth of attention given to individual tasks is limited.

Officials are often required to look after the functions of colleagues who for various reasons are temporarily away from work. Senior officials must be able to fill in for others and perform many different functions, and are thus required to remain generalists. On the other hand, more junior officials may be expected to acquire specific skills, e.g. in purchasing, supervision and data processing.

All positions in the Ministry of Education have job descriptions.

Whenever a new position is created a job description is prepared and sent to the Office of the President, which is responsible for the employment of government personnel. However, the job descriptions do not always work as intended, either because the descriptions are too vague or because of the frequent requirement to carry out functions assigned to other officers.

Because of the critical shortage of manpower, jobs are often created to suit available persons. Familiarity and experience count most in appointment to senior positions, though merit is also an important attribute. Individuals are often put through a subtle process of weighing up, a process known locally as *vakaru jehun*. Personnel appraisal becomes a subjective and invariably a process of testing of loyalties and performance. Improvement of appraisal procedures will require more objective and reliable criteria, and the adoption of standards of acceptability and excellence.

(b) Control of Schools

Although it might be assumed that smallness of scale permits greater control of schools, in practice this does not seem to be the case. Indeed, small-country interactions are sometimes more complex. Government schools which are thought to be exclusively under the control of the Ministry of Education are also exposed to other pressures. Other government departments and community organisations exert considerable influence on the schools. Under these conditions, however much the officials in the Ministry like to think that they have full control of schools, in reality the Ministry is only one of several sources of influence. In a small community, the number of people who know each other is proportionately greater than in a larger community. Family and friendship connections significantly influence government processes in small states.

At present, the Ministry of Education has no regional or atoll offices. However if the current rate of expansion continues, some decentralisation will be required for efficiency and effectiveness. The problems of remoteness and isolation prevent the authorities in Male' from operating a good system of supervision and control. Decentralisation of educational administration will necessitate substantial strengthening of atoll-level administration. It will of course further stretch the limited stock of appropriate manpower, but in the long run will be unavoidable.

The great distances of ocean between the islands create an additional constraints on supervision, which is at best irregular. In some cases, the most effective form of supervision and monitoring is through officials of other ministries whose work has taken them to the remote islands. Often, the Ministry of Education receives comments from heads of other departments through official and unofficial channels.

(c) Manpower Constraints

In contrast to larger and more developed countries, in Maldives the available pool of suitable manpower is small. Recruitment for professional and administrative positions usually requires a good deal of personal appeal and convincing. Positions remain vacant for long periods because it is impossible to identify suitable candidates.

The shortage of manpower in the Ministry makes it extremely difficult for officials to devote time to long-term scenarios. Due to the pressures of day-to-day administration, the usual mode of work is one of crisis-management rather than carefully-planned implementation.

Although it might seem obvious, it has sometimes been forgotten that serious consideration has to be given to manpower constraints before any new function is undertaken by the Ministry. Experience shows that when new functions are incorporated hastily, manpower is difficult to obtain and existing human resources have to be spread more thinly. Lack of appropriate personnel has obstructed longstanding plans to incorporate research functions at the Educational Development Centre. It has also prevented the Atoll Education Centres from taking up teacher education and in-service functions.

Due to the absence of tertiary education in the country, very few Maldivians are able to obtain a higher education. But although few people are highly specialised in their fields, this lack of expertise is compensated to some extent by experience and practical insight. Several senior officials have served in the education sector for long periods. At least 50 per cent of the senior administrators in the Ministry agencies have over 10 years' service in the education sector. In Maldives, reliance on expatriates to fill senior government positions is not an acceptable practice. However, international expertise in education is widely used in technical assistance programmes.

Civil servants in Maldives are expected to have multiple salaries because single salaries can barely meet the cost of living. Many officials have more than one job in the government, plus one or more external sources of income. This situation is made necessary and possible by the critical shortage of skilled and educated labour. On the positive side, the system enables the government to gain the services of scarce labour which would otherwise choose more attractive private sector employment. However, when the working day is divided into different jobs in different places, every job becomes a part-time assignment. The amount of time and attention devoted to a particular job is necessarily limited, and multiple jobs mean divided loyalties. To reduce division of loyalties, officials in high positions tend to take multiple jobs within the government or else to own private businesses.

In a situation where no one is available on a full-time basis, strategies have to be devised to get essential work completed. These include the appointment of *ad hoc* committees and task forces.

(d) Professional Development

Few officials have received pre-service training which is directly related to the posts they hold. Staff development activities are not well established because of the lack of national infrastructure for manpower development in management and administration. In-service training is given through short courses in other countries. Staff in senior positions have adequate training, although there is some mismatch between training and job assignments.

Top positions in the functional sections of the Ministry are not filled by people who have had extensive training in job-related fields. A systematic plan for staff development is needed to enhance the Ministry's ability to manage and develop the education system. Such a plan is essential to improve not only the efficiency and effectiveness of the Ministry but also for the organisation and management of the education system. Questions of quality improvement, internal efficiency and extended coverage cannot be adequately addressed without strengthening organisational and administrative capabilities.

Extreme specialisation is not necessarily an advantage in promotions because top positions in the organisation require a general knowledge of all functional activities. This type of general knowledge is usually obtained through long years of service where horizontal linkages among the functional sections are well established. Weak linkages and frequent turnover of senior staff result in the loss of institutional memory and make it very difficult to build a general knowledge of the entire organisation.

(e) Management of International Assistance

In small countries where educational development is heavily dependent on international assistance, aid administration and management is crucial. In Maldives, the securing of international assistance clearly involves in addition to the Ministry of Education the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Planning & Environment.

The demands of international development organisations on the Ministry of Education of a small state are debilitating and sometimes overwhelming. Some of the most efficient manpower is engaged most of the time in providing information for donor agencies. Often routine functions are pushed aside due to the pressure of urgent external demands. The sudden onslaught of the World Conference on Education for All in 1990 is a case in point. Preparations had to be made at the expense of routine but important functions. Unfortunately, most of the large international development organisations are not adequately sensitive to small states' special needs in educational organisation and management.

Once aid is secured, the actual administration of projects requires careful monitoring and reporting. A good deal of the work of United Nations projects is shared between the UN agencies and the government implementing agency.

International assistance for education also involves an essential knowledge component. This includes information on the sources, types and conditions of aid, and on the mediating role of technical experts in policy formulation. National capacity for the collection and use of information on aid agencies and programmes is limited. The most readily available sources of information on training programmes are a Unesco publication entitled Study Abroad, and randomly selected college prospectuses. Since there is no university education in the country, Maldives relies heavily on international scholarships. This results in less predictability, relevance and control over the transfer of knowledge.

The function of technical experts in policy processes is crucial in small states. Because Maldives has few local experts in the specialised fields of education, there is a tendency for excessive reliance on international experts. The nature of external expertise may be indicated by the activities, duration and sponsorship of the principal visitors during 1989:

- music teaching (two weeks, Unesco),
- mathematics education (two weeks, Unesco),
- primary education (six months, Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation),
- nonformal education (six months, United Nations Fund for Population Activities),
- education planning (two weeks, Unicef),

- basic education (two weeks, Unicef),
- education statistics (three days, Unesco),
- English language teaching (two years, British Council),
- English language teaching (one week, British Council), and
- project planning (three weeks), United Nations Fund for Population Activities.

Successful utilisation of technical assistance depends strongly on the abilities of Ministry counterparts. External assistance is better utilised when the local counterparts are able to gather relevant information and make it available to the experts. In this way Ministry officials act as gatekeepers, directing and facilitating or at times obstructing access to knowledge and information. So the impact, let alone success, of international experts is often a function of the quality of the counterparts.

6. Conclusions

The problems of educational development, including its organisation and management, are amplified by small scale, geographic isolation, and the scarcity of human and material resources. In small communities like Maldives, interpersonal relations strongly influence the organisation and management of both private and public sector enterprises, including the Ministry of Education. For example, even if they are not related to decision-makers, the fact that people live close to each other makes it possible for them to approach decision-makers at home or on the road and thus to make informal appeals. This has both negative and positive sides. The amount of time devoted to investigating specific complaints tends to be high; but the school system may be much more personalised and sensitive than in large countries.

In Maldives, the problems of small size are exacerbated by the scarcity of high level expertise. This increases the country's dependence on international expertise even in such crucial areas as planning and policy formulation. At the same time, the effective use of international expertise depends on the quality and competence of national counterparts.

It is also found that the critical shortage of high level staff with training in organisational development, management and administration is reflected in the use of outdated methods of organisation and record-keeping, even with the availability of efficient office automation and information systems. Technology can certainly be harnessed to reduce the problems of small states; but it cannot solve everything.

Finally, because Maldives is geographically isolated, it has few avenues for regional cooperation. Such cooperation as does exist is mostly with Sri Lanka, a much larger state. There are few avenues for the types of mutual support among small states found in the South Pacific and the Caribbean.

Part III: Caribbean

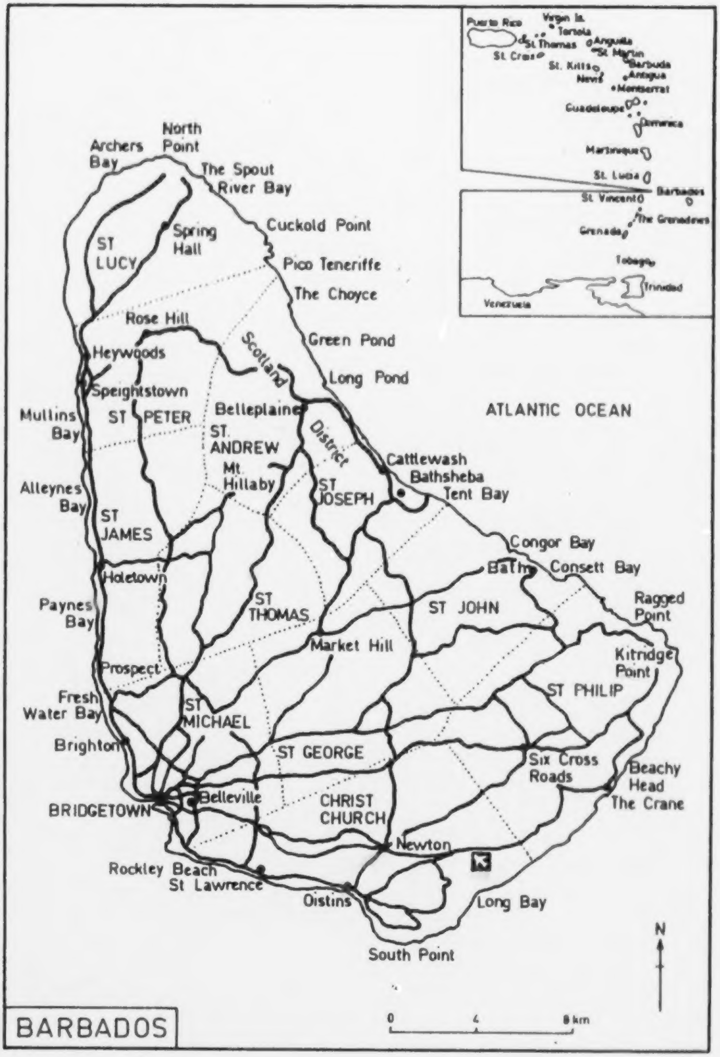
Chapter 6: Barbados

Ralph Boyce

Population (1989): 255,000
Population Growth Rate (1980-88): 0.3%
Land Area: 431 square kilometres
Capital: Bridgetown
GNP per Capita (1988): US$5,990
Year of Independence: 1966
Primary School Enrolment Rate (1989): 93.8%
Human Development Index (1987): 0.925

Barbados is the most easterly of the Caribbean islands. It is 34 kilometres long and 22 kilometres wide, and despite the small total number of inhabitants is densely populated. The island was settled (but not 'discovered') by the British in 1627, and because it was difficult to attack from the sea it never changed hands in the colonial wars of the 17th and 18th centuries. As a result, there is little French, Spanish or Dutch influence in the language and culture. Many contemporary Barbadians stress their Afro-Caribbean heritage, together with aspects of the culture which are distinctively 'Bajan'.

Barbados is now officially a 'middle income' country, with a higher per capita GNP than such European nations as Ireland, Spain or Greece. The country has few natural resources, but derives substantial income from sugar, some export-oriented manufacturing and a growing offshore financial sector. Over half the households own a car, and almost all have a piped water supply and a telephone. Tourism is now by far the main foreign exchange earner. In 1988 the number of tourists, most of whom came from the USA, exceeded 450,000.


Puerto Rico
Virgin Is.
Tortola
St Thomas
Anguilla
St Martin
St Croix
St. Kitts
Barbuda
Nevis
Antigua
Montserrat
Guadeloupe
Dominica
Martinique
St. Lucia
Barbados
St Vincent
The Grenadines
Grenada
Tobago
Trinidad
Venezuela
North Point
Archers Bay
The Spout
River Bay
Cuckold Point
Spring Hall
ST LUCY
Pico Teneriffe
The Choyce
Rose Hill
Scotland District
Green Pond
Heywoods
Long Pond
Speightstown
Mullins Bay
ST PETER
Belleplaine
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ST. ANDREW
Mt. Hillaby
Cattlewash
Bathsheba
Tent Bay
Alleynes Bay
ST JOSEPH
ST JAMES
Congor Bay
Bath
Consett Bay
Holetown
Ragged Point
Paynes Bay
ST THOMAS
ST JOHN
Market Hill
Kitridge Point
Prospect
ST PHILIP
Fresh Water Bay
ST MICHAEL
ST GEORGE
Brighton
Six Cross Roads
Beachy Head
The Crane
BRIDGETOWN
Belleville
CHRIST CHURCH
Newton
Rockley Beach
St Lawrence
Oistins
Long Bay
South Point
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1. The Structure of Government

Barbados has a strong democratic tradition. In 1989 it celebrated the 350th anniversary of its parliament, which is said to be the second oldest in the Commonwealth. The British monarch is the Head of State, represented by a Governor General. Twenty one senators are appointed by the Governor General, of whom 12 are on the advice of the Prime Minister, two on the advice of the Leader of the Opposition, and seven at his own discretion to reflect religious, economic and social interests. A speaker and 26 members of the House of Assembly are elected from 27 single-member constituencies.

The government has 13 ministries. This number is determined by political considerations. The ministries cover:

- Agriculture, Food & Fisheries,
- the Civil Service,
- Education & Culture,
- Employment, Labour Relations & Community Development,
- Finance & Economic Affairs,
- Health,
- Housing & Lands,
- International Transport, Telecommunications & Immigration,
- Legal Affairs,
- Tourism & Sports,
- Trade, Industry & Commerce, and
- Transport & Works.

Although the fact is not reflected in its title, the Ministry of Education & Culture is also responsible for ecclesiastical affairs. One possible rationale for including this responsibility is that education is usually charged with passing on the culture of a society from one generation to the next, and religion is an important component of culture. From another viewpoint the church plays a key role particularly in religious and moral education.

Within the Ministry of Education & Culture, the budget and the number of personnel are heavily weighted in favour of education. Only five staff out of 161 at the Ministry's headquarters work in the Cultural section. A Parliamentary Secretary (Junior Minister) deals with Culture and Ecclesiastical Affairs, while a Minister deals with Education. The National Cultural Foundation, a statutory body with approximately 45 staff, also has responsibility for cultural matters.

2. Formal Organisation of the Ministry of Education & Culture

(a) Organisation Chart

Figure 6.1 shows the organisation chart of the Ministry of Education & Culture. The Ministry has five main Divisions, responsible for Schools, Planning & Development, Personnel Management & Services, Finance, and Culture. The Finance and Culture Divisions report directly to the Permanent Secretary (PS). The Personnel Management & Services Division and the Planning & Development Division report to the Permanent Secretary through the Deputy Permanent Secretary. The Planning & Development Division also reports to the Chief Education Officer (CEO), while the Schools Division reports solely to the CEO.

At the time of the introduction of Ministerial government, the structure of the Ministry was reformed so that technical/professional officers would work side by side with administrative officers. The CEO is the Chief Technical Adviser to the Minister, and the PS is the Chief Administrative Officer, Finance Officer and Head of the Ministry.

The structure has been reviewed at various times, the most recent occasion being in 1985 when, among other changes, the Examinations Section was given administrative support. This has permitted the technical staff there to do more professional work.

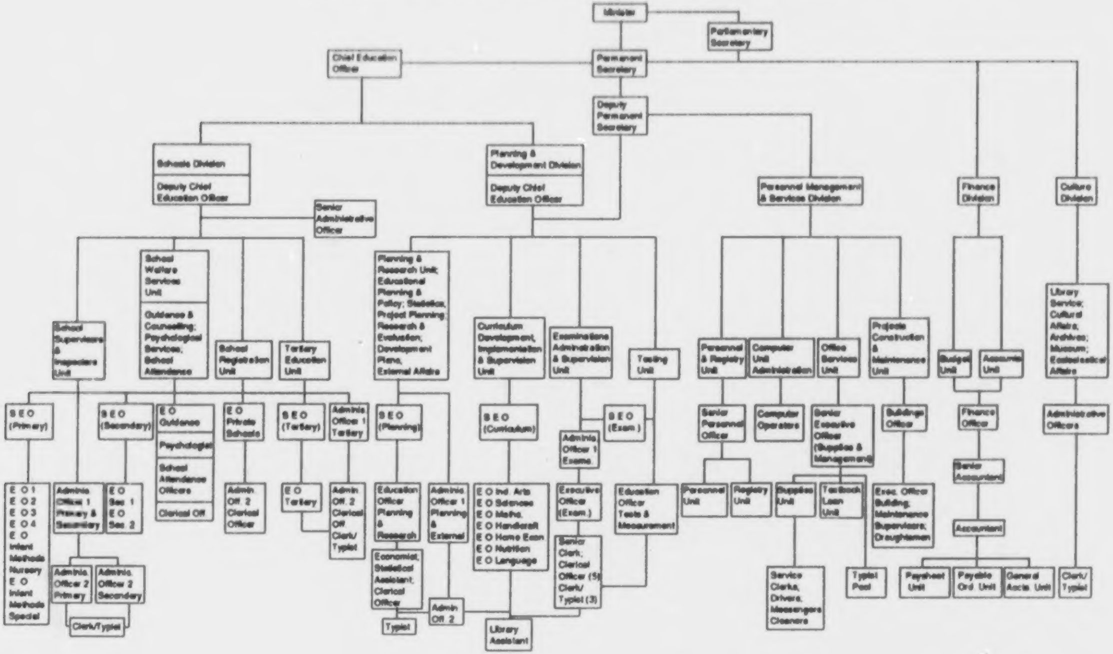
Despite periodic reviews, the structure seems to encourage the tendency to 'pass matters upwards'. This results in particular bottlenecks at the levels of CEO and PS.

(b) Centralisation/Decentralisation

The island is perhaps too small to need separate provincial or district governments with attendant education personnel. District Education Officers do exist, but they are all appointed by the Public Service Commission and operate from Ministry Headquarters.

However, some of the responsibilities of the central administration have been devolved to the Boards of Management of secondary schools and tertiary institutions. A similar devolution has been proposed to the School Committees of primary schools. The devolved powers are in such spheres as budgeting and finance, permission to use buildings, etc.. Advantages of devolution include speeding up of action and reduction of strain on the central administration. Disadvantages relate to problems of information flow, and of supervision and control.

Figure 6.1: The Ministry of Education & Culture, Barbados (1989)


Minister
Parliamentary Secretary
Chief Education Officer
Permanent Secretary
Deputy Permanent Secretary
Schools Division
Deputy Chief Education Officer
Senior Administrative Officer
Planning & Development Division
Deputy Chief Education Officer
Personnel Management & Services Division
Finance Division
Culture Division
School Supervisors & Inspectors Unit
School Welfare Services Unit
Guidance & Counselling; Psychological Services; School Attendance
School Registration Unit
Tertiary Education Unit
Planning & Research Unit; Educational Planning & Policy; Statistics, Project Planning; Research & Evaluation; Development Plans, External Affairs
Curriculum Development, Implementation & Supervision Unit
Examinations Administration & Supervision Unit
Testing Unit
Personnel & Registry Unit
Computer Unit Administration
Office Services Unit
Projects Construction & Maintenance Unit
Budget Unit
Accounts Unit
Library Service; Cultural Affairs; Archives; Museum; Ecclesiastical Affairs
S E O (Primary)
S E O (Secondary)
E O Guidance
Psychologist
School Attendance Officers
Clerical Off
E O Private Schools
S E O (Tertiary)
Adminis. Officer 1 Tertiary
S E O (Planning)
S E O (Curriculum)
S E O (Exam.)
Adminis. Officer 1 Exams.
Senior Personnel Officer
Computer Operators
Senior Executive Officer (Supplies & Management)
Buildings Officer
Finance Officer
Administrative Officers
E O 1
E O 2
E O 3
E O 4
E O Infant Methods Nursery
E O Infant Methods Special
Adminis. Officer 1 Primary & Secondary
E O Sec. 1
E O Sec. 2
Adminis. Officer 2 Primary
Adminis. Officer 2 Secondary
Clerk/Typist
Admin Off. 2 Clerical Officer
E O Tertiary
Admin Off. 2 Clerical Off Clerk/ Typist
Education Officer Planning & Research
Adminis. Officer 1 Planning & External
Economist; Statistical Assistant; Clerical Officer
Typist
Admin Off. 2
E O Ind. Arts
E O Sciences
E O Maths.
E O Handicraft
E O Home Econ
E O Nutrition
E O Language
Library Assistant
Executive Officer (Exam.)
Senior Clerk; Clerical Officer (5) Clerk/ Typist (3)
Education Officer Tests & Measurement
Personnel Unit
Registry Unit
Supplies Unit
Textbook Loan Unit
Exec. Officer Building; Maintenance Supervisors; Draughtsmen
Senior Accountant
Accountant
Service Clerks, Drivers, Messengers Cleaners
Typist Pool
Paysheet Unit
Payable Ord. Unit
General Accts. Unit
Clerk/ Typist

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(c) Specialisation/Generalisation

District Education Officers, who have broad administrative responsibility for schools in their areas, tend to be generalists. Other Education Officers operate as specialists, e.g. in science, mathematics, language arts, technical studies, art & craft, home economics, and guidance & counselling. As each specialisation has only one officer (except science, which has two), there is usually great overload. Officers in the Buildings and the Accounts Sections also operate as specialists.

Some subject areas are on the official school curriculum and therefore require supervision and evaluation by Ministry staff. These subjects include music, religious & moral education, business studies, physical education, and computer studies. However, the Ministry has insufficient specialist staff. A proposal is being prepared to address this problem. Meanwhile the Education Officer (Art & Craft) assists with music, and two officers (one a District Education Officer and the other a specialist) assist with physical education.

Problems may also occur when officers try to double as inspectors and specialist advisers. These two functions do not always coexist very happily because one has a censoring and the other has a support role.

(d) Work not Undertaken

Because of manpower and other constraints, the Ministry has not been able to undertake all the work it would have liked to. Gradually, however, plans are being developed for:

- computerisation of aspects of ministry work, including personnel records, the Textbook Loan Scheme, finances, and examination statistics;
- a well-staffed and equipped planning unit;
- a well-staffed and equipped Testing & Evaluation Unit; and
- a well-staffed and equipped School Welfare Department which would bring together School Attendance Officers, Guidance Counsellors and Psychologists.

3. Ministry Personnel

(a) Numbers

In 1989, 161 persons were employed in the Central Administration of the Ministry of Education & Culture. Although the workload of many officers is excessive, the ratio of staff to population and/or school enrolments is more favourable than in many other developing countries.

Table 6.1 shows the breakdown of staff in 1989. The administrators outnumbered the technical/professional staff by almost three to one.

Table 6.1: Staff of the Ministry of Education & Culture, Barbados, 1989

Administrative	
Permanent Secretary	1
Deputy Permanent Secretary	1
Senior Admin. Officer	2
Finance Officer	1
Administrative Officer I	5
Senior Personnel Officer	1
Senior Executive Officer	1
Senior Accountant	1
Administrative Officer II	8
Personnel Officer	2
Assistant Personnel Officer	1
Economist	1
Accountant	1
Assistant Accountant	4
Executive Officer	3
Senior Clerk	5
Clerical Officer	47
Executive Secretary/Secretary	3
Stenographer/Typist	12
Clerk/Typist	12
Telephone Operator	2
Driver/Messenger	1
Messengers	2
Machine Supervisor	1
Equipment Operator	1
Statistical Assistant	1
TOTAL	120

Technical/Professional	
Chief Education Officer	1
Deputy Chief Education Officer	2
Senior Education Officer	6
Education Officer	20
Buildings Officer	1
Psychologist	1
Senior Draughtsman	1
Draughtsman	2
Buildings & Maintenance Supervisor	3
Senior School Attendance Officer	1
School Attendance Officer	3
TOTAL	41

(b) Expertise

The problem of having to recruit from a small pool, which is aggravated by the 'brain drain', is a real one for Barbados. However, successive governments have adopted a policy of recruiting Barbadian nationals as first choice, nationals of other Commonwealth Caribbean countries as second choice, and nationals of other countries only as a last resort. Posts are commonly advertised overseas as well as locally, in an attempt to attract Barbadian nationals home. To make conditions more attractive, contracts often include gratuities and passages for the officers and their families. However, the policy is sometimes criticised by those who have laboured locally only to see Barbadian nationals return from abroad to fill coveted posts. Making a Biblical analogy, the locals sometimes share the bitterness of the brother of the prodigal son. But the alternative is inbreeding, with resulting problems which are perhaps worse.

Recruitment to the Public Service is the responsibility of the Public Service Commission (PSC), membership of which includes politically neutral persons of high integrity. Posts are advertised publicly, and following submissions of applications the PSC conducts in-depth interviews using agreed criteria and procedures. The PSC is usually assisted by a Ministry representative when appointing to Ministry posts.

(c) Job Definition and Appraisal

The Ministry has developed an operational manual which provides details on specific jobs, and which is used for job definition and appraisal. The manual is very useful for both training and evaluation. It has greatly helped improve efficiency.

In the case of new posts, job definition and appraisal of performance depends strongly on the courses charted by the officers holding the posts. This is because there are no examples to follow. The case of the psychologist in the Ministry may be cited as a real example. No other officers in the Ministry had the specialist qualifications to evaluate the work of the psychologist. In such instances expertise from outside the Ministry or the country can be called upon, though in this particular case it was not.

(d) Professional Development

Generally speaking, the post-secondary education of technical officers in the Ministry relates more to their functions as teachers and school administrators than as Ministry staff. Most technical officers have completed a two-year course at the local teacher-training college, followed by a three-year first degree in Arts & General Studies or Science/Mathematics at the University of the West Indies (UWI). The majority have pursued their studies at the local Cave Hill campus of the UWI. Others have completed a first degree followed by a UWI Diploma in Education. Many hold Masters' degrees, and two are currently on leave in the USA and Canada for Ph.D. studies. An additional officer is registered on the doctoral programme at Cave Hill, and a fourth is due to go abroad soon.

Few education and training programmes specifically address the needs of Ministry staff. As in the case of a good teacher becoming Head of Department, or a good Head of Department becoming Deputy Headteacher, officers are more commonly recruited on the basis of their last posts than on their preparation for new posts. Most Ministry officers are recruited from the school system.

A partial exception to the comments on the lack of specific relevance of training is the UWI one-year, in-service Certificate in Educational Management & Administration course. This programme does address some specific needs, though even it caters more for school managers and administrators than for ministry ones.

Implied in the foregoing are some possible strategies for making training and staff development more relevant. Precise, comprehensive training needs should be identified and put in writing both by the officers themselves and by their immediate and other supervisors. A training profile for each staff member should also be developed, put in writing and systematically monitored, bearing in mind the overall needs of the Ministry, the education system and the country.

Tailor-made, in-service training programmes could be developed and mounted locally to meet these needs. Some regional and overseas training would help widen the perspective of the officers. External consultants could also assist with this task.

(e) The Hierarchy

The administrative pyramid in the Ministry is rather flat. However, with nine senior posts available to 20 education officers, promotional opportunities at least for technical/professional personnel are not too remote.

Promotion of Ministry staff is principally based on merit, but generalists who have administrative and other experience in more than one section/role tend to have the edge. Where specialists are promoted to senior and essentially administrative posts, they have to give up their specialist functions e.g. in science, mathematics or language arts. Creation of posts for Senior Specialist Officers at the same salary level as other senior (mainly administrative) posts could help avoid this, though it would obviously have financial and other implications.

(f) Work for External Bodies

Many officers, particularly technical staff, sit on the boards and committees of other ministries and of statutory bodies. The psychologist, for example, sits on the police Committee of the Juvenile Liaison Scheme and on the Ministry of Health Committee on Drug Abuse and Committee on AIDS.

Membership of these committees provides useful contacts with other ministries and agencies, and encourages cross-fertilisation of ideas. The personal contacts also help cut red tape, and speed up inter-Ministry/agency action. However, meetings often take too much of the officers' time, which is also needed for important tasks in the 'home' Ministry.

4. International Linkages

(a) Aid

Mainly because of its comparatively high per capita income and standard of living, Barbados does not qualify for as much aid as some other developing countries. Loans from the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank are more common. But as with aid, these loans bring the problems of 'strings' and of the sometimes not-so-well-hidden agendas of the agencies. The agencies' agendas do not always match the official agendas of the countries being offered 'assistance'.

Sometimes donor or lending agencies insist that countries do the opposite of what obtains in their own countries. For instance in one project, libraries in primary schools and assembly halls in secondary schools were ruled out by the lending agency despite objections. On the other hand, the idea of 'floating classes' was promoted by the agency in the interests of maximum utilisation of space, despite the disruption and other problems caused when floating classes have to return indoors because of heavy rain.

Many agencies also build into their programmes the use of consultants and equipment from developed countries. These eat up project funds, which often could be better utilised in other areas.

Part of the solution must be for countries to have clearly thought-out plans and programmes before assistance is sought. In turn Ministries need training and development of their own people, and they should insist that at least some consultants are local or regional.

(b) Regional Organisations

The main regional organisations important to the work of the Ministry are the University of the West Indies (UWI), the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC), and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

The UWI has campuses in Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados. It provides education at undergraduate and graduate levels for Ministry employees both in central administration and in the schools and colleges. The Faculty of Education at Cave Hill, in particular, provides programmes which meet Ministry needs very effectively. The In-service Diploma in Education programme is totally funded by the Barbados government, and the Director and staff maintain a close and cordial relationship with the Ministry.

The CXC was established by 14 Caribbean governments in 1972 to organise regional examinations at the secondary level. It has successfully undertaken this assignment, and has also done much work in curriculum development and teacher training. The CXC has involved classroom teachers in the setting of papers and marking of scripts, and has organised workshops and seminars.

CARICOM provides a regional forum for education personnel to discuss common problems and to seek workable solutions. A current case is its work in technical-vocational education. Surveys have been made of institutions in the region, and a draft action plan has been drawn up. Also, meetings have been organised for relevant officers to amend the document before final production.

These regional bodies provide a forum for discussion by education personnel across the region, thus assisting cross-fertilisation of ideas. The bodies also provide direct or indirect training in key areas, and help develop a regional identity.

However, the regional bodies also have problematic features. Because proposals have to be endorsed, often individually, by the many territories involved, the work of the bodies is often slow. A case in point concerns the legal status of the CXC. Proper legislation is not yet in place in most territories despite the fact that the CXC was established in 1972. Also, the necessity to take into consideration the needs of the whole region sometimes precludes or retards action on the pressing needs of individual countries. For instance, the CXC has not yet developed syllabuses or examinations in religious education, partly because of sensitivity caused by the large number of religious denominations in the region.

Responsibility for dealing with operational matters relating to the three regional bodies is spread though three sections of the Ministry. The Tertiary Education Unit deals with the UWI; the Examinations, Administration & Supervision Unit deals with the CXC; and the Planning & Research Unit deals with CARICOM. Considerable time is spent in dealing with the regional bodies, but particularly in the cases of the UWI and CXC this is considered an integral part of the work of the respective units. CARICOM matters, however, have to be handled by a very small section along with other non-educational regional and international bodies.

(c) Visitors

External visitors to the Ministry recently included a British Council team. The British Council holds a contract with the government for administration of the Human Resources Development component of a major education and training project. The team of four spent nine days preparing a mid-term review of the project, collecting feedback on the training and consultancy provision, and planning the remaining technical assistance inputs. The team achieved its objective through interviews and meetings with relevant people, visiting institutions and writing a draft report which was discussed and agreed to in principle before the team's departure.

This type of procedure can permit the Ministry to gain objective analysis and independent advice. Such visitors also help the Ministry to overcome time constraints. The Ministry may have officers with the necessary expertise, but such personnel often lack sufficient time to do the work undertaken by the visitors. In addition, formal and informal discussions with visitors provide the intellectual stimulus that is often lacking in small countries. Discussions about developments or approaches in other countries help to widen perspectives. The visitors may also provide useful personal and professional contacts.

Generally, the Ministry relies more heavily on advisers from the UWI than on personnel from outside the region. When launching a new Guidance & Counselling programme in the secondary schools, however, the Ministry drew on the expertise of a professor from the University of South Carolina, USA.

Comments made above about aid also apply here. The Ministry must have clear, written plans and proposals, and must seek assistance with specific, clearly identified problems and programmes. Also, close monitoring and evaluation must take place to ensure that the objectives are achieved.

(d) Management of Information

Requests for information often take the form of questionnaires and surveys from regional and international bodies. The requests make heavy demands on the time and energy of staff who are already overworked. These problems are made more acute by the fact that desired information is not always available in the Ministry in a form which fits readily into the desired formats. Sometimes the information requested is not a priority of the Ministry, and may not have been collected at all. Statistics on special educational provision for females provide an example. In Barbados co-education is the norm, and such statistics are not usually collected.

The external organisations also supply information in the shape of reports and books. Much of this documentation is voluminous and complicated. Officers who make time to deal with it often have no remaining time to deal with the priorities of the Ministry.

A move towards internationally accepted and simplified and shortened formats for questionnaires would reduce these problems. Also, ideally relevant sections of reports should be drawn to the attention of officers whose areas of responsibility, e.g. in supervision, science or technical education, would stand to benefit from the information. Regrettably, pressures to deal with daily system maintenance mean that there is not the time, energy or inclination to read reports of less immediacy. If at all, such reports usually have to be read after work or at weekends.

(e) Absence of Individuals

Individual officers carry many responsibilities. Because of the shortage of staff, this is true at junior as well as senior levels. Difficulties may arise when staff are absent, and especially when they are abroad and thus less easily consulted.

Fortunately the PS has a deputy, and the CEO has two. Problems are also reduced by encouraging team work and good record systems. Senior professional staff hold structured meetings with agendas and minutes once a month. The agendas routinely include a one-page report from each section outlining (i) significant matters from the previous month, (ii) current activities and projects, and (iii) projects for the following month. These reports help to keep all officers informed of the work of other sections. Senior officers usually meet their own personnel soon after these meetings to discuss relevant matters. Full staff meetings are also held.

Systematic use of the official diary is also encouraged. Officers are urged to make an entry in the diary about each important event. It is stressed that the diary is not to be taken away, but should be left at the desk relating to the particular post.

The emphasis on clear record-keeping extends to the filing and minuting systems; and supervisors are urged to ensure that when they or those they supervise are away from their desks, careful notes are made on matters to be followed up during the period of absence. Notes should be put on file, and should indicate relevant file references, deadlines, contact persons, etc..

Sometimes, of course, officers have to leave suddenly and are unable to provide systematic briefing for the officers who will act in their place. However, the authorities place great stress on the need for briefing. Written notes become doubly necessary when officers who are being transferred leave their posts before their successors arrive.

5. The Culture of the Ministry

(a) Interpersonal Relations

The Ministry is indeed a very personal organisation, in which every officer is known by every other officer. In some cases staff are related. The esteem in which individual officers are held is of considerable importance to the day to day operation of the organisation. An officer who is highly regarded and popular often finds it easier to get things done. On the other hand, unpopular officers may encounter difficulties.

Personal knowledge also helps to short-circuit suspicion and distrust. Again, though, this depends on the image of individual people. It is useful for the senior officers to identify the strengths and weaknesses of their subordinates. For example, an officer who is active in sports could be a useful resource when a decision has to be taken in this area. Systematically getting to know each officer on a one-to-one basis helps senior staff to maximise the advantages of a small organisation. This would be impossible in a large ministry, but can be easily achieved in a small one. The author has already embarked on this task with gratifying results.

Nevertheless, the Ministry insists that the organisation is bigger than the individual officer. Sometimes it is necessary to approach people formally, in writing.

(b) Personal Impact and Decision-Making

There is much scope for personal impact in the Ministry. Indeed even the most junior officer is encouraged to submit ideas for discussion and decision. A Social Club at which all officers meet and mix while discussing matters related to the Ministry also helps promote easy relationships, self-confidence and the climate necessary for successful change.

The obvious dangers of undesirable change are limited through controls and set procedures which are known and generally followed. Proposals for change have to be submitted through heads of sections. Ideas which have policy implications have to be approved by the Minister. In some cases a decision of Cabinet or even Parliament is required.

Great emphasis is put on arriving at decisions through a process of discussion and consensus. Although the Minister has the main power, in practice he shares it, particularly with the senior staff. The Minister chairs an Educational Planning & Development Committee (EPADEC), which discusses policy matters. The fact that individuals make joint decisions also helps to ensure that information is shared, and facilitates decision-making when some staff members are away from office.

The EPADEC is a very important body of which we in the Ministry are very proud. So far as we know it is not common, if it exists at all, in other ministries in Barbados or in other Caribbean countries. Membership of the EPADEC covers the senior staff of all sections of the Ministry, including the Parliamentary Secretary, the Permanent Secretary and the Chief Education Officer. Written notices, minutes and agendas are sent by the Secretary of the Committee in good time before each meeting. Papers relating to policy-decisions are also circulated in advance. Such papers may be prepared by any officer, but are most commonly prepared by professional/technical personnel.

The papers are meaningfully discussed, and usually the opinions of all those present are actively solicited by the Chairman (Minister). Sometimes the Chairman's views are attacked, and he concedes when the opposing arguments are stronger. In the end a consensus is reached. The decisions of the meeting are carefully minuted, and they then from the basis for a Cabinet paper at which level a policy decision is taken. Successive Ministers have used the EPADEC in this highly democratic, creative and mature way.

Decisions of lesser weight are usually taken after discussion at the section level. Sometimes the Permanent Secretary and the Chief Education Officer discuss matters in order to reach a decision. Sometimes these two and the Minister knock heads to decide. Genuine discussion takes place. However, one persistent and complex problem relates to decisions about essentially professional matters contrary to the advice of the technical staff after in-depth discussion by them.

(c) Flow of Information

Despite the small size of the Ministry, information does not always flow well. Senior staff are usually well informed by reading all the incoming mail and the 'float files' which contain a copy of each item of correspondence issued by the Ministry. (This system also has its drawbacks!)

One problem arises when senior staff do not pass on information to their sections in good time or at all, due usually to pressure of time. Moreover, frequent meetings and other commitments often take away officers without deputies from their desks, and files sometimes get 'stuck'. Suggested solutions include procedures for moving these files in such situations, and serious reorganisation of staffing which would see senior staff having assistance at the level which would permit information to flow when officers are otherwise engaged.

Problems of information flow may be exemplified by the recent case of planning in another ministry for a historical pageant involving schools. The public was informed before the Ministry of Education & Culture about certain important matters. It was assumed that the Ministry of Education & Culture had been informed because a representative had attended the planning meetings, but in fact the individual had failed to pass on information.

6. Conclusions

Implied in the foregoing is the need for in-depth, systematic review of the organisation and management of the ministry with a view to making it more readily responsive to the present needs of a small developing country now politically independent. This is one area in which consultants from outside the country could play a key role. They could bring a freshness of approach and objectivity to their tasks, and should have no particular axe to grind.

Meanwhile, this chapter has highlighted both the constraints of small size and the extent to which the ministry does nevertheless succeed in meeting a wide range of needs. On the negative side, the ministry has not yet managed to create a well staffed and equipped planning unit or a school welfare department to bring together school attendance officers, guidance counsellors and psychologists. Yet on the positive side, the ministry does have specialist officers in the main curriculum subjects. It also has a special textbook loan unit, an examinations unit, and specialists in infant methods.

At the post-secondary level, Barbados benefits from hosting a regional campus of the University of the West Indies. This campus includes a Faculty of Education, the staff of which play a valuable consultancy role in addition to their basic training functions. Barbados is also an active member of the Caribbean Examinations Council and the Caribbean Community.

Like many other small organisations, the ministry does suffer from a rather flat administrative pyramid. Also, the authorities are anxious to avoid stagnation and in-breeding, and advertise all major posts abroad as well as at home in order to attract applications from Barbadians overseas. Nevertheless, promotional opportunities, at least for the technical/professional personnel, are not too remote.

Finally, the chapter has commented on interpersonal relations within the small organisation. Of course the highly personalised atmosphere may sometimes create problems. However, there is much scope for individual impact, and personal knowledge helps to short-circuit suspicion and distrust.

Chapter 7: Dominica

Merle E. Peters & Herbert F. Sabaroche

Population (1988): 81,300
Population Growth Rate (1980-88): 1.2% per annum
Land Area: 751 square kilometres
Capital: Roseau
GNP per Capita (1988): US$1,650
Year of Independence: 1978
Primary School Enrolment Rate (1990): 100%
Human Development Index (1987): 0.906

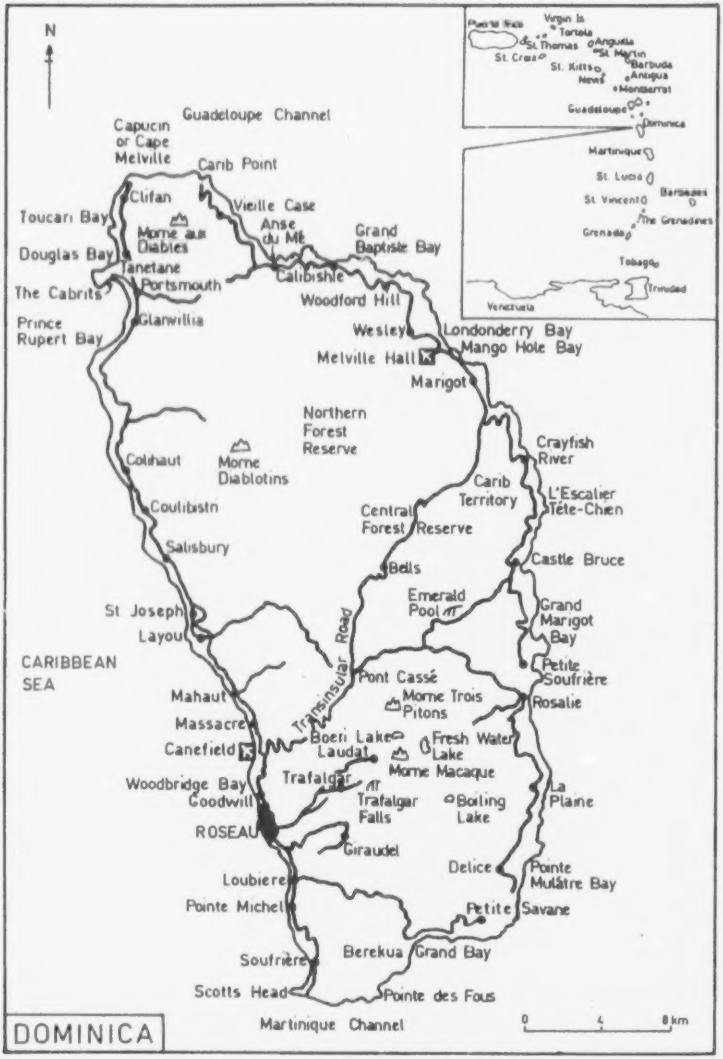
Dominica is the third largest island in the Commonwealth Caribbean (after Jamaica and Trinidad). It is 50 kilometres long and 27 kilometres wide, and has a mountainous topography.

Dominica became a British colony in the 18th century. It formed part of the Leeward Islands federation until 1939, but from 1940 to 1959 was administered as part of the Windward Islands group. A constitution which became effective in 1960 gave Dominica separate status with its own Administrator and an enlarged Legislative Council. In 1967 Dominica became one of the West Indies Associated States, gaining full autonomy in internal affairs. The nation achieved full independence in 1978.

The economy depends on export-oriented agricultural products, especially bananas and citrus fruits. Livestock and fish are also important sources of income and employment, and recent years have brought efforts to diversify into textiles, agro-processing and component assembly. Tourism is less developed than in many other Caribbean islands, but is becoming increasingly important.

1. The Education System

Schooling in Dominica is compulsory between the ages of five and 15.


N
Guadeloupe Channel
Capucin or Cape Melville
Carib Point
Clifan
Toucari Bay
Morne aux Diables
Vieille Case
Anse du Mé
Grand Baptiste Bay
Douglas Bay
Tanetane
Calibishie
The Cabrits
Portsmouth
Woodford Hill
Prince Rupert Bay
Glanvillia
Wesley
Londonderry Bay
Mango Hole Bay
Melville Hall
Marigot
Northern Forest Reserve
Morne Diablotins
Colihaut
Crayfish River
Carib Territory
L'Escalier Tête-Chien
Coulibistri
Central Forest Reserve
Salisbury
Castle Bruce
Bells
Emerald Pool
St Joseph
Grand Marigot Bay
Layou
Transinsular Road
CARIBBEAN SEA
Petite Soufrière
Pont Cassé
Mahaut
Morne Trois Pitons
Rosalie
Massacre
Boeri Lake
Fresh Water Lake
Canefield
Laudat
Morne Macaque
Trafalgar
La Plaine
Woodbridge Bay
Goodwill
Trafalgar Falls
Boiling Lake
ROSEAU
Giraudel
Delice
Pointe Mulâtre Bay
Loubiere
Pointe Michel
Petite Savane
Soufrière
Berekua
Grand Bay
Scotts Head
Pointe des Fous
DOMINICA
Martinique Channel
0
4
8 km
Puerto Rico
Virgin Is
Tortola
St Thomas
Anguilla
St Croix
St Martin
St. Kitts
Barbuda
Nevis
Antigua
Montserrat
Guadeloupe
Dominica
Martinique
St Lucia
St Vincent
Barbados
The Grenadines
Grenada
Tobago
Trinidad
Venezuela

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The structure of the primary school system is similar to that in other Commonwealth Caribbean countries. It has a two-year infant stage, followed by a five-year regular primary stage and an extended senior primary stage of three years for those who do not qualify for secondary education in the Common Entrance Examination. This senior stage is designated as junior secondary education, but the curriculum does not correspond to that in the first three years of senior secondary schools and it is financed mainly from the primary education budget.

In 1989 the government operated 55 primary schools. An additional five schools were government-assisted, and six were owned and operated privately. These schools had approximately 15,000 pupils and 630 teachers.

At the secondary level, seven of the 10 schools are run by denominational and other organisations with government assistance. In 1989 the schools had 3,500 pupils and 117 teachers. An additional 600 pupils followed a technical-vocational programme with 52 teachers.

The tertiary education system is centred in the Clifton Dupigny Community College. In 1989 the Academic Division of the college had 188 students, while the Technical Division had 168 students and the Teachers' College had 56 students. The Academic and Technical Divisions had 27 teaching staff between them, and the Teachers' College had nine staff. Dominica is also a member of the University of the West Indies (UWI), and has its own University Centre.

During the period 1984-88, education was allocated an average of 17.6 per cent of the recurrent budget. Within the education budget, in 1988 primary schools were allocated 62.8 per cent of the total, while secondary schools were allocated 23.9 per cent, and policy formulation and administration were allocated 4.7 per cent.

2. The Ministry of Education & Sports

(a) Functions & Organisation

Although the full title of this body is the Ministry of Education & Sports, it is often referred to simply as the Ministry of Education. Education used to be combined with Health in a single Ministry. The functions were split in 1985, partly because of expansion in the two sectors.

Within the Ministry of Education & Sports are three main sections, namely the Education Department, the Sports Division, and Library Services. One rationale for grouping these functions together is that sports activities are concentrated in the educational institutions, and library services are directed mainly towards the students of the primary, secondary and post-secondary institutions.

Figure 7.1 shows the organisation chart of the Ministry at the time of writing. This is the framework on which this chapter has been based. However, a new structure has been proposed (Figure 7.2), and comparison of the two charts reveals some illuminating points.

Figure 7.1: The Ministry of Education & Sports, Dominica, 1989

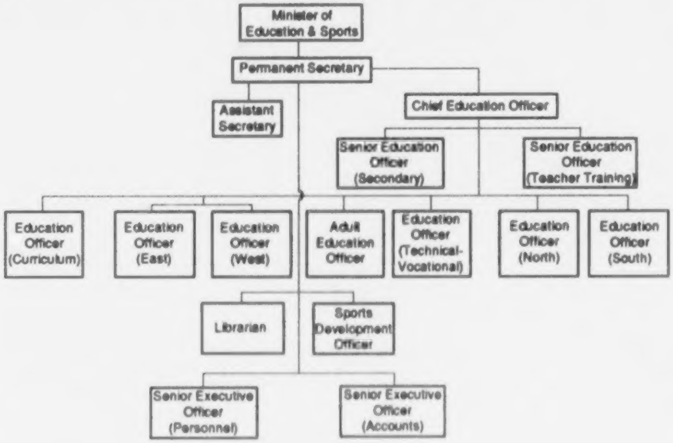
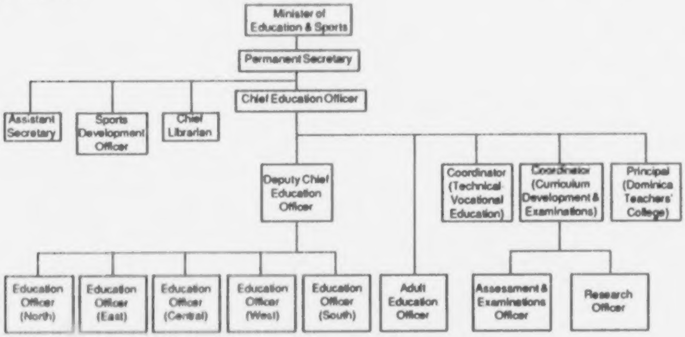

Minister of Education & Sports
Permanent Secretary
Assistant Secretary
Chief Education Officer
Senior Education Officer (Secondary)
Senior Education Officer (Teacher Training)
Education Officer (Curriculum)
Education Officer (East)
Education Officer (West)
Adult Education Officer
Education Officer (Technical-Vocational)
Education Officer (North)
Education Officer (South)
Librarian
Sports Development Officer
Senior Executive Officer (Personnel)
Senior Executive Officer (Accounts)

Figure 7.2: Proposed Structure for the Ministry of Education & Sports, Dominica


Minister of Education & Sports
Permanent Secretary
Assistant Secretary
Sports Development Officer
Chief Librarian
Chief Education Officer
Deputy Chief Education Officer
Coordinator (Technical-Vocational Education)
Coordinator (Curriculum Development & Examinations)
Principal (Dominica Teachers' College)
Education Officer (North)
Education Officer (East)
Education Officer (Central)
Education Officer (West)
Education Officer (South)
Adult Education Officer
Assessment & Examinations Officer
Research Officer

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One of the most important aspects of the proposed structure is the creation of the post of Deputy Chief Education Officer (DCEO). It is intended that the district-based Education Officers (EOs) will report to the DCEO rather than directly to the Chief Education Officer (CEO). The new structure will also include a new post for the Central District.

The DCEO post was partly proposed to allow the CEO to take on new duties. The 1989-94 Education Sector Plan which set out the proposal highlighted problems caused by the absence of a planning unit. It also noted the lack of a consistent procedure for identifying training needs, because of which some individuals had followed courses that were not related to Ministry priorities. These individuals had later been disappointed when on return from their studies they were given responsibilities in areas unrelated to their studies. In such a small Ministry it was still felt impossible to employ specialist planners and training officers. It was therefore decided to place the CEO in charge of both functions, but to provide assistance from the newly-appointed DCEO. The post of Planning Officer has been nominally created, but actually this post is held concurrently by the CEO. A Planning Committee reports to the Minister through the Permanent Secretary, and is chaired by the Planning Officer/CEO. In addition, a post has recently been created for a Project Development Officer with responsibility for preparation, implementation and evaluation of projects.

The proposal also envisages changes in the sphere of curriculum. The Ministry already has an EO (Curriculum). However, the absence of a Curriculum Development Unit has meant that curriculum initiatives have been sporadic, that schools have operated with inadequate curriculum materials, and that objective assessment of the effect of new curricula on educational practice and attitudinal change has been difficult. The new structure will create a Curriculum Development Unit to tackle these problems. The Coordinator of the unit will be assisted by an Assessment & Examinations Officer and by a Research Officer. The Curriculum Coordinating Committee will include principals of primary and secondary schools as well as Education Officers and lecturers from the Teachers' College.

The new structure will also include the post of Coordinator (Technical-Vocational Education). This officer will be responsible for diversification of the curriculum at all levels. The officer will have particular responsibility for the Technical-Vocational Education Project run by the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). The individual will also be a member of the Advisory Committee of the Technical Studies Division of the Clifton Dupigny Community College.

Neither the existing nor the proposed structure has a specialist EO post for primary education. This again reflects the constraints of a small system. The needs of primary schools have to be met by the district-based Education Officers.

The architects of the new structure also proposed to abolish the post of SEO (Secondary). The rationale was similar to that for not having an EO (Primary). The coordinator of the Curriculum Development Unit was expected to replace the SEO (Secondary), leaving the district-based Education Officers to supervise secondary schools in their areas. However, it now looks less likely that the post of SEO (Secondary) will be abolished. This is partly because the present holder has strong qualifications and experience, and it is important for the system to retain such services.

Whereas the existing structure refers to the post of SEO (Teacher Training), the proposed new structure refers only to the Principal of the Teachers' College. In fact these two posts are combined in one individual. This provides another instance through which the small system promotes efficiency and maximises use of scarce personnel.

The administration of the Ministry is centralised in Roseau, the capital. Portsmouth, the second town, has a District Office with a staff of four comprising the Education Officer (North), an Assistant Education Officer, a clerk/typist and a messenger. The offices of the other district-based Education Officers are in the Teachers' College. The fact that these other Education Officers are all located in one place means that they have to travel extensively, and that the district-focused nature of their duties is not fully supported. It has been proposed to set up offices actually in the districts served by the staff. Although Dominica is geographically quite small, road, telephone and postal communications are not strong. Relocation of the district-focused Education Officers could help strengthen the administration.

On the other hand, the Ministry already faces problems of efficiency arising from the location of officers in different places. The two SEOs, the Principal of the Clifton Dupigny Community College, and the Adult Education Officer each have one clerk and a team of messengers/drivers and cleaners. In practice, these staff do not work only for the units to which they are formally assigned. For example, the technician attached to the Curriculum Unit works for the Teachers' College and the headquarters when the need arises. It has been suggested that this sharing should be strengthened by redeploying such personnel to a central pool for use by all sections as needed. However, sharing is obstructed by the fact that some staff are located in the Teachers' College or in other places distant from headquarters. The obstacle that this creates for efficient utilisation of staff is felt particularly acutely in a small system.

Finally, it will be observed that the Ministry is heavily dominated by Education. Indeed Sports are directly served only by the Sports Development Officer who, like the Librarian and the two Senior Executive Officers, reports immediately to the Permanent Secretary.

(b) Work Shared and not Undertaken

The Ministry of Education & Sports shares several responsibilities with other ministries. For example:

- *The Economic Development Unit* assesses plans, programmes and projects for economic viability. It also coordinates projects, and helps identify funding sources.
- *The Treasury Department* pays salaries and audits all financial transactions.
- *The Computer Department* processes the results of the Common Entrance Examination.
- *The Printery* prints forms, certificates and booklets.
- *The Ministry of Communication, Works & Housing* maintains and repairs physical facilities.
- *The Ministry of Health* examines and treats students at all levels free of charge.
- *The Department of Legal Affairs* gives advice when land disputes and other problems arise.
- *The Department of Agriculture* provides extension services to schools.
- *The Personnel Department* trains clerical staff.
- *The Department of Local Government* provides materials for repairs and construction of some facilities. It operates a community-based self-help scheme which assists schools with materials, equipment and technical expertise. Labour is usually provided by Parent-Teachers Associations, Village Councils and other community groups.

On the other hand, some functions which would normally be undertaken by Ministries of Education in larger countries are not undertaken at all in Dominica. For example, the Dominica Teachers' College only trains teachers for all-age schools. These schools have a primary section (5-12 years) and a junior secondary section (13-15 years). No provision is made for specialised subjects or for technical-vocational education. Teachers at the senior level may be trained in regional institutions (Antigua, Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and St. Lucia) or in such countries as the United Kingdom, USA, Canada and

France.

It must be recognised that overseas training has some advantages. External donors meet most of the costs, and experience of other countries broadens the trainees' horizons. However, difficulties arise from the cultural biases of the foreign programmes; and some of the trainees sent abroad never come back. Also serious is the limitation on numbers. Partly because of the lack of local training provision, about 60 per cent of senior secondary teachers remain untrained. Canada's Organization for Cooperation in Overseas Development (OCOD) has helped reduce this difficulty by running two-week workshops in specialised areas. In addition, projects have been launched by the UWI and through the OECS technical-vocational project. However, these projects will not be able to solve the problem completely.

Similarly, although moves have been initiated to strengthen curriculum development, Dominica will remain handicapped by the lack of specialist staff in each subject area. Also, the schools can only use books developed generally for the Caribbean or for other parts of the world. Because of the constraints on expertise and on the size of the market, no textbooks have been prepared specifically for Dominica. However, textbooks in some subject areas have been written for Caribbean students.

Finally, it was noted above that Dominica is unable to afford a full-fledged planning unit. This has created difficulties in coordination and efficient use of resources. Related to this is the lack of research. The proposed structure does envisage employment of a Research Officer in the Curriculum Development Unit, but many other areas also require research. Although policy-makers can learn from research in other countries, foreign studies are often a poor substitute for local ones.

3. Personnel

(a) Numbers

Excluding principals, lecturers and teachers, the Ministry of Education & Sports has 66 establishment posts (Table 7.1). In addition, the Ministry employs the Principal and Director of Clifton Dupigny Community College, a laboratory assistant for the College, 19 tutors and lecturers, 11 instructors/senior instructors, 58 school principals, and 605 teachers/assistant teachers. It also employs 70 cleaners and 18 watchmen in non-establishment posts. Thus the total employment of the Ministry is 850 (assuming that all posts are filled), of which 7.8 per cent hold administrative posts in the headquarters or districts.

Table 7.1: Personnel in the Ministry of Education & Sports, Dominica, September 1989

	Number		Number
General Administration		*Technical Staff*	
Minister of Education	1	Chief Education Officer	1
Permanent Secretary	1	Senior Education Officer	2
Assistant Secretary	2	Education Officer	7
Senior Executive Officer	2	Assistant Education Officer	6
Executive Officer	2	Field Supervisor	1
Senior Clerk	4	Adult Zonal Officers	7
Maintenance Supervisor	1		
Production Technician	1		
Statistical Assistant	1		
Junior Clerk	16		
Stores Clerk	1		
Driver	5		
Messenger	5		

(b) Specialisation/Generalisation

Because the Ministry is small, it is unable to permit extensive staff specialisation. Individuals are often requested to undertake several different types of work. Tasks may be allocated simply to people who are capable of undertaking them, with the result that jobs are gradually established that expect the postholders to perform unrelated duties. Likewise, new staff may be appointed to posts that require performance of very eclectic tasks.

Every job description contains the statement: "The worker is expected to perform any other relevant duty that may be required to enhance the scope and quality of the education system." This indicates that even when individuals do specialise, they may still be called upon to perform unrelated tasks. Three examples may illustrate this point.

- *SEO (Secondary)* has to coordinate and supervise the 10 Secondary schools, and register students for these schools. The officer also has to organise and coordinate the Youth Rally for the Independence Day celebrations. While these tasks entail separate knowledge and experience, the rationale for grouping them is that they all involve secondary school students.
- *The Junior Clerk* is responsible for registration of incoming and outgoing mail, and for filing. The officer also works as a typist

and as an accounts clerk.

- *The principal of the all-age school* has to manage the operations of the school, supervise and evaluate the teaching staff, teach specific subjects, and serve as a member of the curriculum development team of the Ministry.

The multi-faceted nature of such duties can lead to difficulties. Most serious are the problems of inefficiency and ineffectiveness which arise from overwork. Also, officers sometimes find their professional schedules disrupted. For instance the SEO often has to suspend the supervision of schools in order to meet the demands of examination bodies. In some cases, officers are prevented from taking their annual leave because they are required to undertake urgent additional tasks.

Nevertheless, some jobs have remained specialised. For instance when the chief accounts and personnel officers go on leave, they are replaced only by other accounts and personnel officers. The replacement staff are usually redeployed from other ministries. It has been suggested that personnel in one administrative or clerical post should be given some orientation to perform other duties to alleviate shortages of skilled people at least on a temporary basis. For instance when the Accounts Clerk is away, the Registration Clerk normally processes teachers' salaries.

(c) Expertise

The Ministry is handicapped by the small pool from which it is able to recruit. The population is small, and the Ministry has to compete with other employers. In addition, many well-qualified people choose to migrate rather than to look for jobs at home. The most popular destinations have been the United Kingdom, the USA, Canada, and other Caribbean countries.

Two results of the shortage of trained recruits are first that qualified personnel are given particularly heavy loads, and second that untrained officers are given tasks which should be undertaken by trained ones. This can cause considerable tensions. On the one hand some individuals who have had specialist training resent having to undertake a multitude of tasks which do not use this training; and on the other hand untrained officers clamour for benefits because they perform the tasks of trained personnel.

Tensions also arise in the recruitment of expatriates, some of whom have limited experience of small states and of situations in which resources are in such short supply. Employment of expatriates may also create problems of cultural conflict; and the departure of individuals on completion of contracts may create a void.

(d) Job Definition and Appraisal

The Ministry of Education, in conjunction with other Ministries, is presently preparing and revising job descriptions for all its employees. Prior to this exercise, the tasks performed by individual officers were to a large extent shaped by their immediate superiors. In some cases, however, individuals were left to define their own jobs because their immediate supervisors were not well acquainted with specialist needs, strategies and priorities.

Supervisors who lack specialist experience in the work areas of their subordinates have also found difficulties in staff appraisal. The usual strategy in such circumstances has been for the supervisors to consider such factors as demeanour and willingness to undertake tasks promptly and effectively. However, the subtle processes for weighing up and assessing individuals are not necessarily effective. Personality differences often determine the types of assessment and grades given. The proposed appraisal system seeks to address this problem; but clear lines of responsibility have to be established, and training of appraisers is essential for effective implementation of the system.

(e) The Hierarchy

There is broad agreement within the Ministry that the short administrative pyramid causes difficulties for promotion and morale. Ways to deal with these difficulties include provision of incentives through further training and increase in salary benefits, and job rotation to reduce staleness.

The latter, however, is partly dependent on the skills and transferability of individuals. Generalists have better chances of promotion, and specialists have to abandon their specialisations if they want to gain more senior posts. This problem affects the system negatively, especially when the specialists cannot be replaced. One example is a tutor at the Teachers' College who was a specialist in reading. Wishing to gain a better salary and travel allowances, the officer took a post as district Education Officer even though this required abandonment of the specialism. Another example was the Science Coordinator who accepted the more senior post of Education Officer (Curriculum).

Nevertheless, there is some room for flexibility within the ranks of

EO and SEO. If the Ministry wishes to retain the services of a well-qualified individual without requiring that person to change jobs, it may be possible to promote an EO to become an SEO. However, this depends on the size of the establishment and on competing priorities, and is not always possible.

4. International Linkages

Small Ministries of Education rely heavily on overseas linkages because of financial constraints and the shortage of technical personnel. This may create heavy demands. It also causes difficulties when individuals are taken away from their offices by international meetings.

(a) Aid

Many developing countries of course benefit considerably from foreign aid. Such assistance provides not only material resources but also technical expertise and exposure to new ideas. However, aid may also have negative sides. Aid often has 'strings', and many projects spend a great deal of money on foreign consultants. In some cases aid also encourages complacency and stifles innovation. It is therefore necessary for countries to learn to refuse aid that is not in keeping with development plans and goals. Recipient countries should also try to have proper input and representation when negotiating with overseas agencies, should use nationals for in-service training, and should develop the ability to modify projects to fit the national context.

The problem for small states is that these recommendations may be easier to make than to implement. Because small states have small pools of manpower, they may find it difficult to secure officers who are adept at project analysis and negotiation. It may also be difficult to find appropriate individuals to send for in-service training and to act as counterparts.

(b) Regional Organisations

Dominica is a member of several important regional organisations. The main ones affecting education are:

- *The Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC)*, which organises examinations, develops syllabuses, and trains teachers for the implementation of programmes;

- *The Caribbean Development Bank (CDB)*, which provides project funding e.g. for the technical-vocational education project and for student loans;
- *The Caribbean Community (CARICOM)*, which organises a standing conference of Ministers of Education, and which helps seek funds for projects;
- *The Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS)*, which carries out a similar function to CARICOM but with a smaller (and overlapping) membership;
- *The University of the West Indies (UWI)*, which provides degree and diploma courses, and is also a source of consultancy expertise;
- *The University of the West Indies Distance Teaching Experiment (UWIDITE)*, which has a special component for teacher training; and
- *The Caribbean Association of Technical and Vocational Education & Training (CATVET)*, which disseminates information, provides advice, and offers training in technical and vocational education.

Liaison with these bodies can take a great deal of the time of individual officers. For example, the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) requires that a specific officer use 80 per cent of the time for the Technical-Vocational Project. Also, the SEO (Secondary) spends about 80 per cent of the time dealing with the CXC and other external examination bodies. Certainly these regional bodies can usually perform their functions more effectively than the Ministry could by itself, and they do widen the horizons of officers who work with them. The need for coordination and liaison makes heavy demands, however, and the regional bodies are sometimes rather inflexible.

(c) Absence of Individuals

International commitments frequently take individuals away from their desks, sometimes for extended periods. Official policy provides replacements only when staff are absent for periods exceeding 28 days. Although team work would be a logical way to reduce the problems caused by such absence, efforts to promote team work have not been given much attention in Dominica. It seems that lip service has been paid to the concept, but that few practical steps have been taken to achieve the goal. Thus when for example the Chief Education Officer is away, no one is empowered to do his job.

Problems caused by the absence of officers could also be reduced by improvement of the record-keeping system. Records are still maintained manually, which is slow and inefficient. Recently, computers were acquired for the Accounts Clerk and the Statistics Officer, and it would be desirable to acquire more computers not only for headquarters but also for various institutions. However it must also be recognised that computers require special skills, and that although they permit operations to be carried out more efficiently they may also make absence of key individuals even more problematic than is the case with a manual system.

For efficient organisation it is important to promote team work. Much progress in this was achieved during preparation of the 1989-94 Education Plan. It is to be hoped that this progress will be maintained and extended in the future.

5. The Culture of the Ministry

As in other small states, the Ministry in Dominica is a very personal organisation in which everybody knows everybody else. Some advantages and disadvantages of this are summarised in Table 7.2.

Ways to maximise the advantages and minimise the disadvantages include heavy emphasis on professional behaviour though staff development activities, combined with specific provision for objective appraisal of performance. The authorities may also introduce procedures to discourage breach of confidentiality, while at the same time ensuring that everyone is familiar with the specific policies, rules, regulations and procedures governing the operation of the Ministry. Two final worthwhile policies would encourage individuals to be critical and creative, and would provide incentives for outstanding performance.

Contrary to the suggestion that small Ministries are more likely to operate through consensus in decision-making, it seems that in Dominica decisions are made at the top and that implementation follows the hierarchical process. On some issues there is consultation, but the final decision is still made at the top. Thus, the Permanent Secretary takes decisions to be followed by the Chief Education Officer, who takes decisions to be implemented by the Education Officers, and so on.

There is broad agreement in the Ministry that latitude should be given to individual workers, but that it should be subject to some controls. One example that has been cited was the principal of a particular school who arranged for a fence to be erected around his school. Few financial or labour inputs were required from the Ministry,

Table 7.2: Advantages and Disadvantages of Close Interpersonal Relationships

Advantages	*Disadvantages*
Working relationships are generally friendly	Consensus is over-emphasised
Individuals are easily reached	Individuals are not sufficiently critical of the ideas of others
Red tape is minimised	Favouritism may be developed
Responsibilities are easily delegated	There is a danger of some individuals being overworked
Potential for productivity is increased	Respect for protocol may be lost
Monitoring and evaluation are facilitated	Objectivity is reduced in evaluation of individual performance
Individuals can more easily gain a broad knowledge and understanding of the workings of the Ministry.	Confidentiality is reduced; increased potential for personality clash and confrontation.

and in this respect the principal was to be applauded. However, the same principal took matters into his own hands to defy a policy governing the conduct of a school-leaving examination.

In another case, the principal of a secondary school was flexible in transferring students to and from academic and technical-vocational streams based on their level of performance. When the principal left, however, there was a reversal of the old practice of specific demarcation streams. This created confusion among both students and teachers.

6. Summary

Although officially the Ministry covers Sports as well as Education, the latter is by far the greater of the two functions. Because of this, the organisation us often referred to simply as the Ministry of Education rather than by its longer title.

Until 1985, Education was also administered with Health. The functions were separated because each sector was growing rapidly. The new structure enabled both ministries to focus more clearly on their specialist responsibilities.

However, there has remained a feeling of inadequacy in some respects. The 1989-94 plan suggested (p.15) that the Ministry of Education & Sports:

> has been unable to meet the demands of educational reform and of an expanding school system. The results have been inadequate supervision and less than optimal efficiency because reform programmes have had to be conceived hastily by overworked personnel and because no system existed for monitoring the implementation of reform proposals.

Following analysis of the situation, the plan proposed a new structure. The CEO, it suggested, should be assisted by a deputy; the post of an extra district Education Officer should be created; enlarged and better mechanisms for curriculum development should be established; and the functions of planning and identification of training needs should be carried out more systematically.

It remains to be seen how far this proposal will be implemented and how well it will work. Certainly the proposal has many features to commend it. However, the structure will remain constrained by the small size of the bureaucracy, and it is difficult to afford expansion in such a small system. The posts of Planning Officer and CEO have had to be combined in one individual; and the curriculum development unit will be unable to devote detailed and specialist attention to every subject at every level.

At the same time the chapter has stressed some advantages of small size. Among them are close interpersonal working relationships which facilitate monitoring and evaluation, and which reduce the problems of red tape. Officers in the Ministry of Education may also have close connections with colleagues in other ministries.

Finally, the chapter has highlighted several regional and other external initiatives which help reduce the problems which Dominica would otherwise face. Regional bodies include the Caribbean Examinations Council, the Caribbean Development Bank, the OECS, and the University of the West Indies. Regional projects do sometimes create problems of their own; but they do give Dominica access to expertise and other resources which it would otherwise lack. Dominica has also benefitted from some valuable external aid programmes.

Chapter 8: Guyana

Una M. Paul, Milton Bernard, Reuben Dash & Evelyn Hamilton

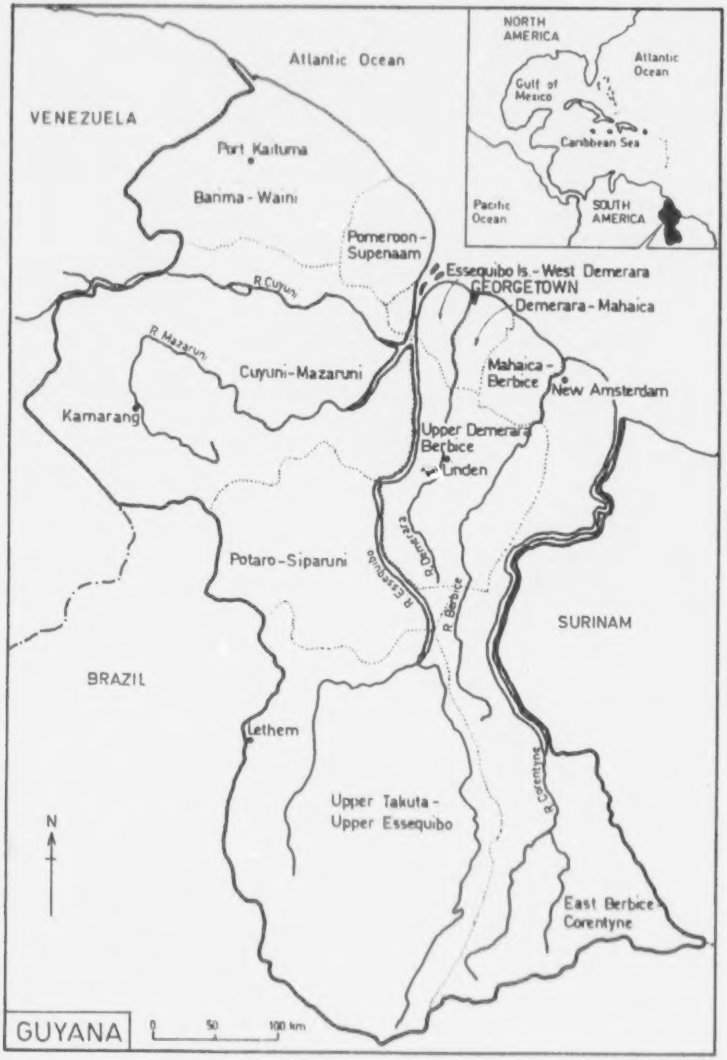
Population (1988): 756,000
Population Growth Rate (1980-88): 0.8% per annum
Land Area: 214,970 square kilometres
Capital: Georgetown
GNP per Capita (1988): US$390
Year of Independence: 1966
Primary School Enrolment Rate (1988): 100%
Human Development Index (1987): 0.808

Guyana forms part of the northern Guiana shield, which extends from Suriname through Guyana to the eastern portion of Venezuela. The landscape is dominated by an extensive network of rivers which gives its name to the region. Guiana comes from an Amerindian word meaning 'land of many waters.'

The country was originally inhabited by various Amerindian tribes, and archaeological evidence has dated settlements to ancient times. Many European explorers visited this part of South America during the 16th and 17th centuries. However the first Europeans to colonise the Guianas were the Dutch, who came in the early 16th century and brought African slaves to work on the plantations.

During the late 18th and early 19th centuries the territory changed hands many times according to the vicissitudes of European geopolitics. In 1780 the British captured the territory, but three years later were expelled by the French. In 1796 parts of the territory were again surrendered to the British, but in 1802 these parts were returned to the Dutch. Finally, in 1814 the three main sections of the territory were ceded to Great Britain. They were later united as British Guiana.

The colony at this time specialised in the production of cane sugar and cotton using black slave labour. With the abolition of slavery in 1833, the African slaves established themselves as peasant farmers on government land and abandoned the sugar estates. In an unsuccessful


NORTH AMERICA
Gulf of Mexico
Atlantic Ocean
Caribbean Sea
Pacific Ocean
SOUTH AMERICA
Atlantic Ocean
VENEZUELA
Port Kaituma
Barima - Waini
Pomeroon - Supenaam
R. Cuyuni
Essequibo Is. - West Demerara
GEORGETOWN
Demerara - Mahaica
R. Mazaruni
Cuyuni-Mazaruni
Mahaica - Berbice
New Amsterdam
Kamarang
Upper Demerara - Berbice
Linden
R. Demerara
R. Essequibo
R. Berbice
Potaro-Siparuni
SURINAM
BRAZIL
Lethem
R. Corentyne
Upper Takuta - Upper Essequibo
N
East Berbice - Corentyne
GUYANA
0
50
100 km

attempt to solve the ensuing labour shortage, the colonists imported first Chinese and Portuguese Madeiran and later Indian indentured labourers. Descendants of the Indian labourers now form about 51 per cent of the total population. Descendants of the Africans form about 38 per cent, while the remainder are mainly descendants of the Chinese, Europeans and Amerindians.

Guyana's official language is English, and although the country is situated on the South American coast, it has much closer political and cultural ties with other English-speaking Caribbean countries than with its Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking neighbours. The main religions are Christianity, Hinduism and Islam, though Guyana is officially a secular state. The population growth rate declined from over 3.0 per cent in 1960 to about 0.8 per cent in the 1980s. This reflected a high level of emigration and a fall in the birth rate.

The economy depends heavily on sugar, bauxite and rice. While it is widely acknowledged that the country is endowed with extensive minerals and forests, these resources remain largely unexplored because of lack of infrastructure. Since the 1970s the country has experienced prolonged and serious economic difficulty. This started with the sharp increase in oil prices, and was exacerbated by a fall in the prices of key exports. Guyana's per capita income is now among the lowest of the countries of the Western Hemisphere.

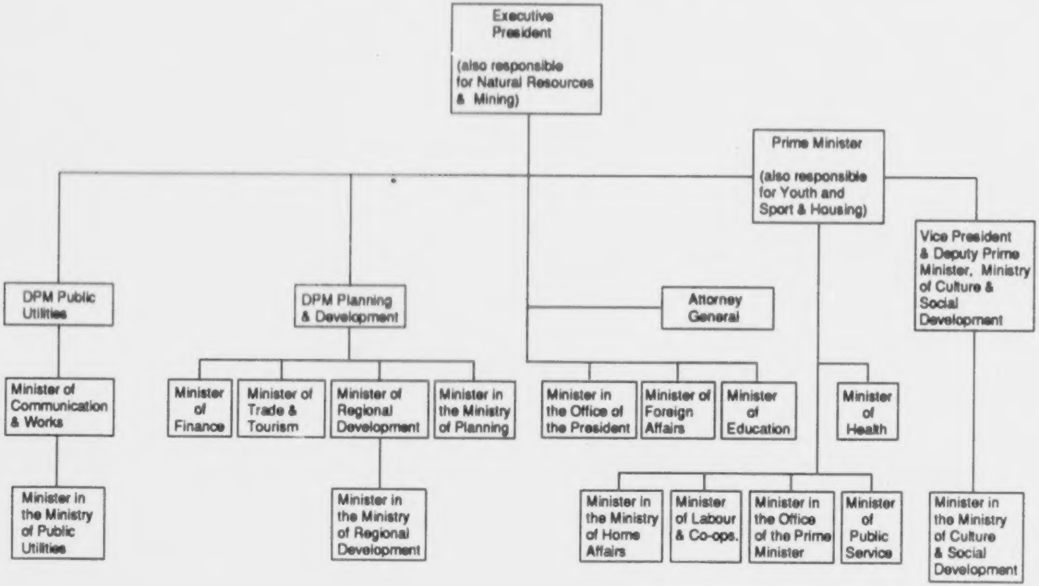
1. Political and Administrative Framework

Guyana gained its independence from the United Kingdom in 1966, and now has a parliamentary government headed by an Executive President. The 65 members of the National Assembly are elected on a system of proportional representation.

The President and Prime Minister, and the Vice-President and Deputy Prime Ministers, are responsible for broad areas of policy and for clusters of related Ministries (Figure 8.1). The structure of each cluster varies with the expertise and work load of the various political leaders, and with the perceived importance of the particular sectors. For example a Deputy Prime Ministership for Public Utilities was recently created to deal with the rehabilitation of national infrastructure. The initiative pulled together a cluster of related ministries, public companies and nationalised corporations.

Ministers are chosen by the President from the leading political figures in Parliament, but also include an unspecified number of non-elected Ministers generally recruited from the professions and the public service. Non-elected Ministers have full executive authority with-

Figure 8.1: The Ministerial Structure, Guyana (1989)


Executive President
(also responsible for Natural Resources & Mining)
Prime Minister
(also responsible for Youth and Sport & Housing)
Vice President & Deputy Prime Minister, Ministry of Culture & Social Development
DPM Public Utilities
DPM Planning & Development
Attorney General
Minister of Communication & Works
Minister of Finance
Minister of Trade & Tourism
Minister of Regional Development
Minister in the Ministry of Planning
Minister in the Office of the President
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Minister of Education
Minister of Health
Minister in the Ministry of Public Utilities
Minister in the Ministry of Regional Development
Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs
Minister of Labour & Co-ops.
Minister in the Office of the Prime Minister
Minister of Public Service
Minister in the Ministry of Culture & Social Development

in their departments, but are not allowed to vote in Parliament even though they may participate fully in all other Parliamentary business.

Education was originally placed in a cluster termed Social Infrastructure, but was moved after some years to a cluster termed Social Development in which it was the pre-eminent area of ministerial responsibility. Education is currently in the cluster led by the President himself, reflecting its high political priority. Ministers of Education have been at various times political appointments from the ranks of government Members of Parliament or non-elected technocrats.

There is a tendency in Guyana to create new ministries and to restructure the shape of government in response to the exigencies of political life and perceptions of priority. However, this has only affected education in so far as its linkages are concerned. At various times culture, youth and information have been appended to education. At the time of writing education has a single department Ministry, though it includes responsibility for child and welfare matters.

The ethnic, religious and ideological configuration of Guyana requires ministerial appointments to represent a careful blend of the racial and ideological elements in the People's National Congress, the ruling party since Independence. Ministers of Education have come from all the elements and configurations of this complexity. Since education provides a route to employment and professional enhancement, it is also important in Guyana that political appointments to the Ministry should be of people whose political records do not threaten other communities.

At the regional level education is the responsibility of the Regional Democratic Councils and their Chairmen, who supervise Regional Education Officers and teachers. These regional officers come within the political supervision of a Minister of Regional Development who, through his Permanent Secretary and secretariat, controls the budget, maintenance and construction. However, the Ministry of Education remains responsible for policy, instructional and curriculum matters. The Teaching Service Commission and the Ministry of Education are in charge of permanent appointments and personnel policy.

The Ministry of Regional Development has a generalist focus which cannot have the same framework as the specialist subject ministries. Consultation and resolution of conflict are thus very important aspects of the work of the Ministry of Education and its relationship with the Ministry of Regional Development.

2. The Education System

Despite the many problems facing the education system, most children between the ages of four and 14 receive some type of schooling. Education is provided at all levels from nursery to university. In addition, adult education is offered by the Adult Education Association (AEA) and by the Institute of Adult & Continuing Education (IACE) of the University of Guyana.

Pupils start primary education at the age of five years and nine months, and continue for six years. Education at this level is compulsory. In 1988 there were 118,000 primary school pupils. At the end of the primary cycle, all pupils are eligible to write the Secondary Schools Entrance Examination, which allocates them to various types of secondary programme according to their performance.

Secondary education is offered in the secondary departments of primary schools, in community high schools, and in general secondary schools. In 1988 there were 72,100 secondary students. The secondary departments of primary schools, together with the community high schools, provide academic and prevocational training. Students are given training in arts, natural science, social science, and industrial arts & crafts. The general secondary schools have a more academic curriculum, at the end of which students write the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) examinations and the General Certificate of Education (London) Ordinary Level examination (GCE 'O' Level). Outstanding students are selected to study for the GCE Advanced Level examination.

Technical and vocational training is offered in two technical institutes, an industrial training centre, two schools of home economics, and a school of agriculture. These institutions cover a wide range of courses and levels.

Guyana also has a teacher training programme, which has several strands. In-service training is of two years' duration for nursery and primary teachers, while pre-service training lasts two years for primary teachers and three years for secondary teachers. Advanced professional training is provided in the Faculty of Education at the University of Guyana. In-service programmes are supplemented by on-the-job training via workshops and seminars sponsored by the support units of the Ministry of Education. The National Centre for Educational Resource Development (NCERD) is responsible for all in-service teacher education programmes.

Over the past two decades the priorities of the Ministry of Education have focused on equality of access and a reduction of the cost of education to the users. The present Education Policy stresses the need to:

- carry out an intensive and major overhaul of the managerial practices within the system;
- maintain and intensify emphasis on equality of access to education;
- review the curriculum in all major disciplines for all levels, and where necessary publish teacher guides and student materials; and
- overhaul the approach to the management of human resources.

Since 1976, education has been provided free of charge from nursery to university level. As part of this policy the government has also provided basic textbooks and other learning materials for nursery, primary and secondary levels. However, the proportion of the budget devoted to education fell from 9.8 per cent in 1985 to 4.1 per cent in 1989. This decline reflected an increase in other areas of government expenditure, the removal of the Department of Social Development & Culture into a separate ministry, and reduction in the number of capital investment projects.

3. The Ministry of Education

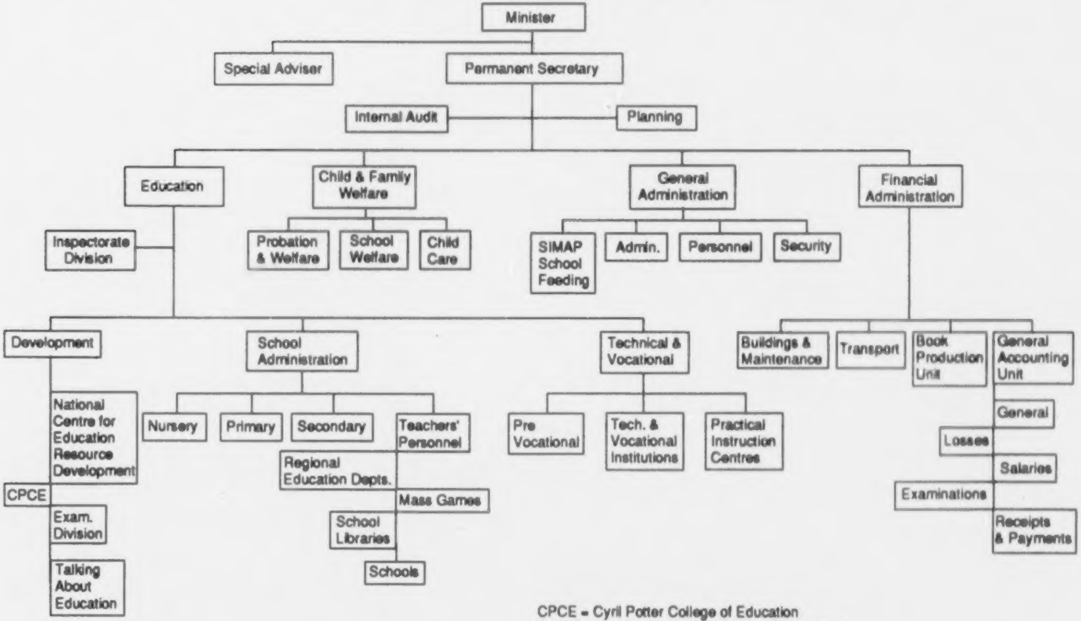
(a) Organisation

The Ministry of Education was restructured in 1989 as a result of re-assignment and the addition of responsibilities. The new structure is shown in Figure 8.2, which shows four main divisions entitled Education, Child & Family Welfare, General Administration, and Financial Administration.

The Permanent Secretary of the Ministry leads the Management Team, which is responsible among other tasks for formulation, co-ordination and implementation of plans. The Permanent Secretary is assisted by two Deputy Permanent Secretaries, one Education Planning Officer and one Field Auditor. The Deputy Permanent Secretary (Administration) supervises all personnel matters, general administration services, security, and the Social Impact Amelioration Programme (SIMAP). The Deputy Permanent Secretary (Finance) oversees all matters related to finance, materials, distribution, stock control, transport, buildings, and maintenance. The Education Planning Officer heads the Planning Unit and is responsible for education plans, research and evaluation. Finally, the Field Auditor heads the Internal Audit Section and ensures that accounting systems are in place.

In the Education Division, the Chief Education Officer (CEO) has

Figure 8.2: The Ministry of Education, Guyana (1989)


Minister
Special Adviser
Permanent Secretary
Internal Audit
Planning
Education
Child & Family Welfare
General Administration
Financial Administration
Inspectorate Division
Probation & Welfare
School Welfare
Child Care
SIMAP School Feeding
Admin.
Personnel
Security
Development
School Administration
Technical & Vocational
Buildings & Maintenance
Transport
Book Production Unit
General Accounting Unit
National Centre for Education Resource Development
CPCE
Exam. Division
Talking About Education
Nursery
Primary
Secondary
Teachers' Personnel
Regional Education Depts.
Mass Games
School Libraries
Schools
Pre Vocational
Tech. & Vocational Institutions
Practical Instruction Centres
General
Losses
Salaries
Examinations
Receipts & Payments

CPCE = Cyril Potter College of Education
SIMAP = Social Impact Amelioration Programme

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overall responsibility for professional matters throughout the system. He is assisted by three Deputy Chief Education Officers (DCEOs). The DCEO (Development) is responsible for the Cyril Potter College of Education and the National Centre for Educational Resource Development, and for examinations and educational innovation. The DCEO (Administration) oversees management of the school system, and supervises the Assistant Chief Education Officers (ACEOs) responsible for nursery, primary and secondary schools. The DCEO (Technical) is in charge of prevocational, vocational and technical education. Finally, the Education Division also contains the Inspectorate. It is headed by an ACEO (Inspections), who is accountable to the Chief Education Officer.

The Child & Family Welfare Division is responsible for mobilising and utilising the social work resources of the Ministry of Education within an integrated framework. It aims to foster a process of personal development and education for vulnerable children, and to ensure their participation in lives which are meaningful and valuable. The Division, which is coordinated by an Administrative Head, comprises three services each of which is controlled by a chief officer. These components are:

- the Probation & Welfare Service, which places special emphasis on cases where family relationships cause problems;
- the School Welfare Service, which concentrates on problems of school attendance; and
- the Child Care Service, which focuses on children needing care and protection, and on substance abuse.

(b) Centralisation/Decentralisation

As noted above, some of the authority which formerly resided at the central Ministry has been transferred to Regional Democratic Councils and their Regional Education Departments. The main objectives of regionalisation were to promote involvement of communities in the management of education, and to allow educational institutions to respond more positively and rapidly to the needs of communities. The country has 11 Regional Education Departments of varying sizes. Table 8.1 indicates the number of supervisory officers attached to each Department.

Table 8.1: Supervisory Officers in Regional Education Departments, Guyana (1989)

Region	Regional Education Officer	Education Officer	Education Supervisor	Schools Welfare Officer	Total
Barima-Waini	1	-	3	1	5
Pomeroon-Supenaam	1	2	5	1	9
Essequibo Is.-West Demerara	1	3	4	2	10
Demerara-Mahaica	1	2	5	2	10
Mahaica-Berbice	1	2	3	1	7
East Berbice-Corentyne	1	3	6	3	13
Cuyuni-Mazaruni	1	1	2	2	6
Potaro-Siparuni	1	1	1	1	4
Upper Takuta-Upper Essequibo	1	1	2	1	5
Upper Demerara-Berbice	1	2	2	2	7
Georgetown	1	3	5	3	12

In the regionalised system, the central Ministry retains responsibility for overall educational policies, and coordinates, monitors and evaluates the provision of educational services. This is achieved through consultation, advice, training, and supervision. The Ministry also remains responsible for examinations, curriculum, teacher training, educational planning, and macro-level research.

On the other hand the Regional Administrations are responsible for implementation of policies laid out by the Ministry, delivery of education in the regions, and provision of facilities. The staff of the regions include Regional Education Officers, Education Officers, Education Supervisors, and Schools Welfare Officers.

The Regional Education Officers (REOs) are members of the Education & Training Sub-Committees of the Regional Democratic Councils, and are responsible to the Councils for education in their regions. This includes responsibility for:

- identifying the educational needs of the region and, in consultation with the Regional Democratic Council, preparing and presenting plans to meet those needs;
- identifying resources available within the region, and devising strategies to mobilise them;
- implementing the plans, and ensuring that mechanisms are put into operation to monitor their execution;
- promoting collaboration and cooperation with relevant agencies and institutions; and
- preparing annual reports for submission to the Regional Democratic Council and the central Ministry.

Regions are required to provide and maintain school buildings including housing for teachers, and to secure land for school farms and playing fields. They must also provide transportation within the region for educational personnel, facilitate payment of teachers' salaries through regional sub-treasuries or other agencies, organise distribution of materials, maintain records on schools and teachers, and appoint certain categories of teachers.

In order to give substance to regionalisation, some of the statutory powers of the Chief Education Officer have been delegated to the Regional Education Officers. These include authority to:

- open or close schools;
- grant leave of absence to teachers;
- transfer teachers within the region;
- prepare annual confidential reports,
- grant approval for exclusion of pupils from schools, and
- ensure the inspection of schools.

Monthly meetings of all Regional Education Officers and Senior Professional Officers of the central Ministry allow for dissemination of information and for reporting and feedback. These meetings have greatly reduced the problems which would otherwise have arisen.

(c) Styles of Decision-Making

The nature of the political culture in Guyana, as well as the fact that the same political party has been in office since 1966, has eroded the traditional relationship between public servants and politicians. Several ministers indeed are more experienced in public administration than the public servants who advise them. Thus the decision-making system in the Ministry may be more accurately determined by the style of the Minister than by the size of the Ministry.

Generally speaking, Ministers of Education have been of two types. On the one hand are those who are ideologically strong and adopt a reductionist approach by emphasising a clear and limited set of priorities. On the other hand are technocrat Ministers recruited from the education profession, who tend to emphasise more complex analytic procedures and a more diffuse set of goals. With Ministers of the former type, public servants are expected merely to carry out given instructions. In the latter mode there is more opportunity for collective decision-making, and it is assumed that the information and perceptions emerging from such interaction will form part of the eventual policy of the Ministry.

The present Minister of Education was recruited from the University via the public service. He has adopted a dual role, i.e. as spokesman for the system and as a technical manager. This creates some difficulties since the flow from the Minister's office may include technical directives which subvert the role of the technician at the upper and middle levels of the system. On the other hand, it blurs the distinction between professional and political decision-making.

4. Specialisation and Generalisation

During the 1970s, specialist supervisory officers were appointed to oversee the work of secondary school teachers. The subjects covered by these Specialist Education Officers were English, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies (including History and Geography), Modern Languages, Industrial Arts, Home Economics, and Agricultural Science.

With the advent of regionalisation and its own supervisory structure, it was found impracticable to employ Specialist Education Officers for all these subjects in all regions. The officers were therefore required to become generalists and to supervise the entire programme from nursery to secondary levels.

However, in recent years an effort has been made in regions where the number and availability of supervisory personnel allow to give officers with the necessary orientation separate responsibility for specific levels. The system now evolving requires Regional Education Officers to have responsibility for all educational activities in their regions, but for Education Officers and Education Supervisors to have more specialised responsibility at nursery, primary or secondary levels for the implementation of programmes and activities in:

- the curriculum process,
- school organisation,
- physical facilities and equipment,
- school environment,
- student welfare, truancy and absenteeism,
- discipline and school tone,
- co-curricular activities, clubs and societies,
- school-community relations, and
- record-keeping.

The central Ministry also has officers who specialise in specific levels. In particular, separate Assistant Chief Education Officers have overall responsibility respectively for nursery, primary and secondary schools across the regions.

Where specialist supervisory officers do not exist, Subject Committees have been established in each region for developmental work on each subject area. Subject Committees are made up of experienced teachers from clusters of schools. Committees for all subject areas in the curriculum have been established. The number of such committees in particular regions for given subjects depends on the number of clusters needed to service all the schools.

The Subject Committees focus on the appropriateness of subject objectives, content, teaching strategies, materials and evaluation procedures. Representatives are expected to share the findings of the Committees with school colleagues. Regional Subject Committees group representatives of the various Subject Committees within each region. Representatives of Regional Subject Committees form National Subject Committees for most subject areas. The National Subject Committees feed information to the centre, and make recommendations about the total curriculum.

The school Inspectors are also concerned with specialist subject areas. The Regional Supervisory Personnel mostly focus on the day-to-day implementation of school programmes, while the Inspectorate is more concerned with the extent to which the programmes and activities planned have been successfully implemented. The Inspectorate analyses and reports on the reasons for success or failure. The team is concerned with both formative and summative evaluation, and with recommendations for appropriate remedial action. The Inspectorate is also concerned with student performance at the various levels of the school system in relation to regional and national norms. The Inspectorate has subject specialists for each of the core curriculum areas, i.e. Language Arts, Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies, as well as specialists in school organisation and management. The support units, located at the centre and concerned with the developmental aspects of the work of the Ministry of Education, are also specialised. These units include:

- the Education Planning Unit,
- the Teacher Training Institution,
- the Curriculum Development Unit,
- the Test Development Unit,
- the Learning Resource Centre,
- the Broadcasts to Schools Unit, and
- the Materials Production Unit.

The last five units are grouped within the National Centre for Educational Resource Development, which has a Director responsible for overall coordination. This grouping therefore permits collaboration and corroboration of efforts. The staff of these units are expected to have relevant specialised training.

Specialisation is also evident at the tertiary level. Institutions operating at this level include the Carnegie School of Home Economics, the Georgetown and New Amsterdam Technical Institutes, the Guyana Industrial Training Center, the Guyana School of Agriculture, and the University of Guyana. The School of Agriculture and the University are autonomous, but the other four are supervised by the Deputy Chief Education Officer (DCEO) with responsibility for technical and vocational education.

The DCEO (Administration) is responsible for the day-to-day functioning of the school system and the immediate supervision of the professional work of the Regional Education Officers. The DCEO (Development) has supervisory responsibility for the functioning of the development units, including the Teacher Training Institution. The Chief Education Officer oversees the activities of the three DCEOs.

Another support unit of the Ministry of Education is the Division of Child & Family Welfare, which has already been described. While the components of this Division are specialised, the key officers have a common background, and all have qualifications in Social Work. The activities of the components overlap, and joint programmes promote inter-relationships.

In summary, the officers who are immediately responsible for supervising the day-to-day work in schools, namely the Regional Supervisors, are generalists responsible for all aspects of the school programmes. However, most other officers in the support units of the Ministry are specialists. Systems exist to allow for the proper integration and coordination of activities and to facilitate collaboration in the implementation of programmes.

5. Responsibilities Shared and not Undertaken

Since 1976, with the exception of a few schools which offer secretarial, accountancy and computer training, all education institutions have been under government ownership and control. Participation of communities has been actively encouraged, but there are no private nursery, primary or secondary schools.

In spite of serious shortages of persons with the relevant skills, the Ministry of Education undertakes most planning, monitoring and management of the system through its own establishment. However, some activities are undertaken by other bodies. For example on-the-job technical training is provided through work-study attachments in public and private firms; and the apprenticeship scheme is run by the Board of Industrial Training, which comes under the Ministry of Labour. The Ministry of Public Service organises overall training in the public service, and administers the Government of Guyana Awards Scheme for undergraduate and short courses. Finally, the National Data Management Authority processes examination results.

Because the government does not have sufficient personnel and facilities for every activity, some tasks are contracted to commercial enterprises. Primary school textbooks, for example, are prepared by the Ministry's Curriculum Development Unit but are printed by commercial enterprises both locally and abroad. At the middle and upper secondary levels demand does not justify printing and publishing for the Guyanese system alone, and books are therefore imported. The Ministry of Education also contracts out the distribution of text and exercise books, and the manufacture and distribution of biscuits for the supplementary school feeding programme.

Finally, many officers in the Ministry of Education share their expertise with other parts of government. Table 8.2 shows the most prominent external boards and committees of which Ministry officers are members. External activities can provide valuable linkages and may widen the perspectives of the officers concerned. However, the activities may also take a great deal of the time of officers who are already hard pressed.

6. The Culture of the Ministry

(a) Interpersonal Relations

Although the Ministry of Education is small by international standards, it is a large by Guyana's standards. The total number of employees, including teachers, exceeds 3,300. This means that there is a greater professional and personal distance between departments and levels than in other parts of the government. Nevertheless, it is true that in a Ministry of this size many professional and administrative officers have long personal contact and intimate knowledge of each others' backgrounds.

This provides an opportunity to ensure that information and the subtle details of policy can be communicated along informal channels. Also, relatively junior functionaries believe themselves entitled to access

Table 8.2: External Roles of Ministry of Education Officers, Guyana

Designation	Activities
Permanent Secretary	- Member, CXC and its Appointments, Finance and Administrative Committees - Member, University of Guyana Council and its Appointment, Finance and General Purposes Committees - Resource Person for CARNEID
Chief Education Officer	- Member, CXC - Member, University of Guyana Council and its Appointment Committee - Member, Guyana Management Institute Board - Member, Teaching Service Commission
DCEO (Development)	- Member of CXC
DCEO (Administration)	- Examiner for English A (CXC) - Member, National Equivalency Board
DCEO (Technical)	- Member, Guyana School of Agriculture Board of Governors
Director of NCERD	- Moderator of English A (CXC) - External Examiner in Linguistics and Faculty of Education Resource Person, University of Guyana - Chairman, UWI Caribbean Lexicography Project Committee
Education Planning Officer	- National Coordinator of CARNEID - Transport Advisory Board
Technical Adviser	- Assistant Examiner, CXC - Councilor, Georgetown Municipality - Second Vice Chairman, Conference on the Affairs & Status of Women of Guyana - Member, Caribbean Association of Home Economics - Member, National Relief Committee - Member, National Library Committee - Member, Agriculture Month Committee - Member, National Nutrition Committee
Head, Division of Child & Family Welfare	- Member, Education Sub-Committee on National Economic - Resource Person, Guyana National Service
Chief Schools Welfare Officer	- Member, Guyana National Council for Drug Education - Member, National Aids Committee - Member, National Rehabilitation & Education Committee, Ministry of Health
Chief Probation & Welfare Officer	- Member, National Coordinating Council on Drug Education
Chief Child Care Officer	- Secretary, National Coordinating Council on Drug Education

to all senior staff. It is not unusual for junior officers to seek redress from the Permanent Secretary or Minister if they believe their points of view have not been given adequate hearing or if they believe that they have information which should reach the top quickly.

Accessibility to top decision-makers is reinforced by the political culture which encourages Ministers in particular to generate and use opportunities for face-to-face contact with workers and the community. However, these networks make it easier to influence decision-makers in dis-information and character assassination. The networks may also lead to confusion when information becomes distorted by extensive informal repetition.

(b) Personal Impact

As in other small organisations, Guyana's Ministry of Education has considerable scope for personal impact. The ideas of the most subordinate officer can be filtered up to the highest level of decision-making, the Senior Policy & Management Group (SPMG), and may be critically examined and refined with a view to possible implementation.

However, these ideas have to be discussed at several levels before being presented to the SPMG. Ideas originating from a teacher or a regional officer would first be discussed among the region's Supervising Officers, and if found to have some merit would be raised at the monthly meetings of the School System Management Committee. The ideas would then be refined and submitted at one of the fortnightly mattings of the Education System Committee. Again, at this level, the ideas would be closely studied for possible modification before being presented to the SPMG.

Of course personal impact can cut both ways. A Supervising Officer with drive, enthusiasm and conscientiousness can motivate subordinates positively; but a lethargic and incompetent officer can have a negative impact. One or two Regional Education Officers may belong to the latter category, resulting in inefficient delivery of education in their regions. It is even possible that one or more of the Regional Education Supervisors may be more interested in the implementation of policies and strategies at the expense of the welfare and morale of teachers.

The Supervising Officers have an appreciable scope for initiative, within the broad parameters of policy, in their day-to-day functioning. They can interpret policies, introduce their own administrative and supervisory styles, permit experimentation, and create situations that encourage creativity and innovation.

The personnel in support units also enjoy much freedom in their specialised areas of responsibility. Their ideas may also be heard, and they too may influence policy decisions. The ideas of a Test Development Officer or a Curriculum Development Officer, for example, can be channelled to meetings of the SPMG, and these staff also have scope for creativity and innovation.

To limit the dangers of undesirable change, there is a system of monitoring and evaluation at all levels. At the regional level, monthly reports have to be submitted by School Administrators and School Supervisors. In turn, the Regional Education Officers provide monthly reports to the Ministry. In addition, the Assistant Chief Education Officers responsible for nursery, primary and secondary education regularly visit the various regions to monitor the work of the regional personnel. The staff of the Inspectorate also evaluate the programmes of schools.

(c) Absence of Individuals

In all ministries of the public service, senior and middle-level officers are entitled to six weeks' annual leave. During their absence, their subordinates act in their place. The organisation chart of the Ministry of Education (Figure 8.2) shows that there are deputies who can act for senior officers. Officers who are away from their desks for one week or more are supposed to prepare task sheets of work to be performed during their absence. These task sheets are discussed with the relevant officers before being submitted to the Permanent Secretary.

In addition to the Senior Policy-Making & Management Group meetings are monthly reporting sessions on developmental activities. These two systems help generate a team spirit, and familiarise officers with activities and developments.

7. International Linkages

(a) Aid

Interaction with aid donors creates enormous difficulties for the Ministry of Education. First, the preparation of projects can take a great deal of time. Second, the varying data requirements and project formats create the necessity for repetitive work; and third, aid agencies often seek to impose their priorities and values, albeit sometimes unwittingly.

The varying reporting and monitoring formats of the aid agencies, particularly in circumstances of an already overstretched managerial team in the Ministry, create a counter-productive treadmill in which education managers are so pre-occupied with reporting schedules that they have little time for actual execution. What is even more damaging is that the amount of time spent implementing foreign projects, as opposed to routine and locally-funded activity, is often not commensurate with their importance.

This distortion of managerial time has a cyclical effect since very often it causes deterioration in the basic management of the Ministry, creating the need for more external assistance. The Ministry of Education in Guyana has tackled this problem very directly by establishing clear procedures which protect its senior staff from the pressures of response to external aid agencies. The Ministry also seeks to conduct its business within a framework of broad policies and specific projects which do not discriminate between aid and local programmes, and which do not discriminate between funded programmes and enhancement programmes requiring minimal financial inputs.

(b) Regional Organisations

Although Guyana is a member of many regional organisations, few are important to the work of the Ministry of Education. The notable exceptions are:

- the Caribbean Community & Common Market (CARICOM),
- the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC),
- the Caribbean Network of Educational Innovation for Development (CARNEID), and
- the Caribbean Regional Council for Adult Education (CARCAE).

These bodies provide an input which is especially important because the Ministry of Education and the system as a whole are small. However, they can also make major demands on the time of Ministry personnel.

CARICOM was formed in 1973 as a movement towards unity in the Caribbean. The organisation has a Standing Committee of Ministers of Education, which meets at least once every two years. The CXC is one of the most prominent CARICOM education bodies. Other education activities during the last decade have been mainly directed to improving access to external, regional or national training facilities, promoting the development of training materials for strengthening the information base, and strengthening specialised initiatives. Activities in the second of these areas have provided an important resource base for

Guyana's education system. Over the last five years a regional plan of action has been developed in technical and vocational education. Also, the foundation has been laid for a coordinated regional strategy for teaching Family Life Education in schools; and financial resources are being negotiated to enhance preventive drug education programmes.

Other CARICOM initiatives have included the establishment of the Consortium Graduate School of Social Sciences and the introduction of the Canada/CARICOM Award Scheme. The former provides training in social sciences and research into Caribbean issues; while the Award Scheme caters for training in management, financial administration, public administration, agriculture, industry and tourism.

The CXC prepares examinations for students completing five years of secondary education. CXC examinations have to a large extent replaced the London and Cambridge GCE 'O' Level examinations, and are much more relevant to Caribbean needs. There is general consensus that the CXC has achieved its major objectives.

CARNEID has also become a significant organisation. It assists Caribbean Unesco member states to relate education to national development by strengthening national capacities for innovation, proposing cooperation through exchange, and facilitating understanding of educational change and experimentation. CARNEID's priority areas focus on the contribution of education to work, cultural identity and community identity, and on the planning and management of education.

Finally, CARCAE is a non-government umbrella organisation of institutions from the non-Spanish-speaking Caribbean. It was established in 1978 to promote cooperation among adult education organisations, and to support research and information exchange. The Council has run a three-year certificate course in association with the University of Guyana and the University of the West Indies campus in Trinidad.

(c) Overseas Visitors and Consultants

Despite the shortage of skilled staff in certain areas, the Ministry of Education in Guyana does not rely heavily on overseas visitors or consultants Most technical assistance has been in the forms of training or collaboration on special tasks outside the routine work programme.

The paramount objective for both types of assistance has been to strengthen the capacity of the Ministry to perform tasks on its own. A significant proportion of external consultants have been overseas-based Guyanese recruited through the United Nations Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN) programme. In 1988 and 1989, eight TOKTEN consultants assisted the Ministry (Table 8.3).

Table 8.3: Consultants Recruited through the TOKTEN Programme

Number of Persons	Area of Assistance	Duration of Consultancy
2	Development of a medium-term education plan (identification of possible programme areas)	(a) 2 weeks (b) 2 months
1	Workshop for elementary science and 'O' and 'A' Level biology teachers	2 months
1	Training teachers in guidance skills	2 weeks
2	Training teachers in remedial reading skills	2 weeks
1	Help in editing Skill Reinforcement Guides for primary school teachers	3 months
1	Workshop for teacher educators	2 months

The Organization for Cooperation in Overseas Development (OCOD) has also provided valuable assistance. OCOD is Canadian not-for-profit organisation. Personnel recruited by OCOD have worked with Guyanese counterparts on a series of two-week workshops for teachers. Table 8.4 lists the areas and the numbers of participants between 1976 and 1987. There was usually one Canadian and one Guyanese tutor for each subject area. Each batch of teachers usually attended for three successive years to complete their training. However, this programme was gradually phased out as more Guyanese tutors gained the competence to carry out the programmes without external assistance. Some consideration has been given to new areas, e.g. in distance teaching, but this is still in the planning stage.

The Ministry envisages the need for assistance in other areas in the near future. In 1990 the Ministry embarked on a major project in primary education. In order to strengthen the institutional capability of the Ministry a number of consultants may be recruited from overseas. The Ministry is also making formal links with the University of Manchester (UK) and the University of Ohio (USA) to establish a systematic network for exchanges and training.

(d) Management of Information

Linkages with external bodies have created a significant increase in requests for information on the education system. The Education Plan-

Table 8.4: Number of Participants by Subject Area in OCOD Workshops

Subjects	Number of 3 year cycles	Number of participants trained
Educational Administration	3	145
Industrial Arts	4	210
Reading	4	184
Health Education	3	125
Education Technology	2	48
Music Education	3	164
English as a Foreign Language	2	45
Special Education	2	64
Science	2	86
Mathematics (Upper)	2	72
Business Education	2	45
English Language	1	48
Guidance & Counselling	1	40
Technical/Vocational	1	35
Agriculture	1	52
Mathematics (Lower)	1	40
TOTAL		1,403

ning Unit (EPU) collects, tabulates and analyses data from all educational institutions in the country. This unit is also responsible for responding to requests for information from both local and external agencies. The unit has a small statistical section which was computerised in 1988.

While computerisation has allowed the unit to analyse data more quickly, responding to requests is time-consuming and sometimes problematic. Agencies often request analysis of both qualitative and qualitative data, and sometimes ask about areas of special interest. This kind of enquiry cannot be dealt with by the non-professional staff of the statistics section. Sometimes even the professional staff of the EPU have to get assistance from outside the unit.

Another problem with some survey questionnaires is that the indicators requested by the agencies are not important in the Guyana education system. For example many questionnaires administered by Unesco request rural-urban comparisons. This type of analysis has little relevance to the Guyana situation. Moreover some agencies request data that are not collected on a regular basis by the unit and which therefore require a special survey.

A very rough analysis suggests that each year about nine person months is spent just on responding to requests from external agencies. In the context of the staff shortage in the unit and in the Ministry as a whole, this means that persons have to work beyond official working hours to try to satisfy these requests by the suggested deadlines.

However, it must be recognised that the flow of information into the Ministry from international bodies exceeds the flow out of the system. This material is dealt with in different ways. If material is sent to the Ministry it is first seen by the Permanent Secretary who then ensures that it is dispatched to or circulated among particular officers. Reports that have direct implications for the Guyanese education sector may be discussed at specially-arranged meetings.

Some officials have their own links with organisations and receive reports and newsletters directly. There is at the moment no systematic way to deal with this material. It tends to depend on the individual person whether it is circulated to others or simply kept by the officer.

8. Conclusions

With a population of 756,000, Guyana is not among the smallest of the small states. However, it does face the same sorts of issues arising in other small territories. These include skill constraints, which in Guyana's case are exacerbated by emigration, management in a highly personalised environment, and an education system in which external linkages play a prominent role.

Among the important features of Guyana's development during the last two decades has been a major process of regionalisation. Even though the country is relatively small, for developmental and administrative purposes it has been divided into 11 regions (including Georgetown). The regionalisation programme aimed to promote local participation in development and to encourage education and other institutions to be more responsive to local needs. It has had major implications for the Ministry of Education, first because it has created further demands on the small pool of qualified manpower, and second because it has been necessary to work out a new division of labour between the central Ministry and the Regional Development Councils.

As noted above, in the early stages the regionalisation initiative also required many specialists to be redeployed as generalists. In this sense, the programme exacerbated the constraints on specialisation already felt acutely in the small system. However, recent years have brought a partial reversal of this pattern in regions which are large enough and which have suitably qualified personnel. Specialisation has also remained possible in many parts of the central Ministry, most notably in the specialised support units in the NCERD.

As Guyana's local manpower resources have matured, the system has become less dependent on external aid projects and consultants.

However it is very difficult, and perhaps not even desirable, for small systems to be totally self-sufficient. Regional and international bodies help Guyana to tap ideas and expertise from outside the country; and the TOKTEN programme has provided a channel through which Guyana can still make use of the expertise of nationals who are now resident outside the country.

Chapter 9: Montserrat

Howard A. Fergus & Albert L. Thomas

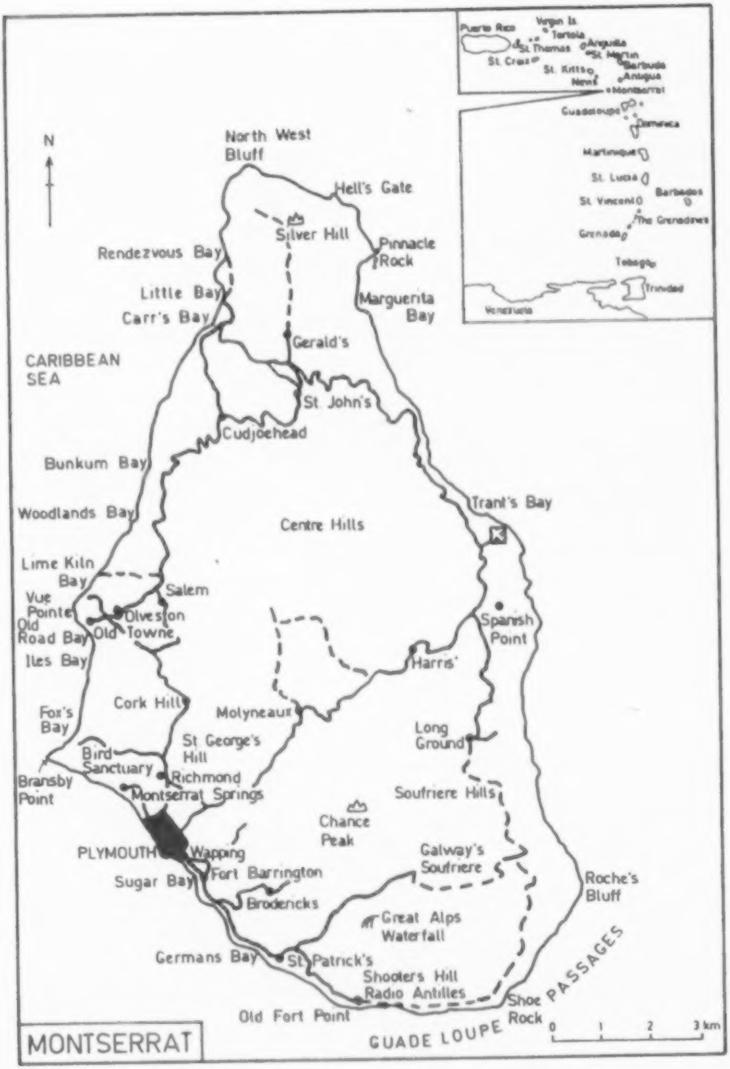
Population (1989): 12,000
Land Area: 103 square kilometres
Capital: Plymouth
GDP per capita (1988): US$4,515
Primary School Enrolment Rate (1990): 100%

Montserrat is one of the few remaining United Kingdom dependent territories. In the Caribbean it shares colonial status with Anguilla, the Cayman Islands, the British Virgin Islands, and the Turks & Caicos Islands. On several occasions the territory has received United Nations visiting missions which have been invited by the UK government, but after negotiations in 1966 the people elected to retain their existing constitution and not move towards independence (Fergus 1979, 1985). The strongest lobby for maintenance of the status quo comes from the mercantile community, which asserts that UK supervision promotes stability and is attractive to foreign investors. Nevertheless, the territory has a high degree of self-government and for the purposes of this case study is comparable with its sovereign neighbours.

The economy is based mainly on real estate development, tourism, assembly industries, subsistence agriculture, and off-shore banking. It is strongly import-oriented, and is therefore sensitive to the vagaries of the economies of certain developed countries. Despite its status as a British dependent territory, Montserrat is a member of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

1. System of Government

Montserrat has a ministerial system of government. Executive power rests with Her Majesty's Government, which is represented by a Gov-


Puerto Rico
Virgin Is.
Tortola
St. Thomas
Anguilla
St. Martin
St. Croix
Barbuda
St. Kitts
Nevis
Antigua
Montserrat
Guadeloupe
Dominica
Martinique
St. Lucia
Barbados
St. Vincent
The Grenadines
Grenada
Tobago
Trinidad
Venezuela
N
North West Bluff
Hell's Gate
Silver Hill
Rendezvous Bay
Pinnacle Rock
Little Bay
Marguerita Bay
Carr's Bay
Gerald's
CARIBBEAN SEA
St. John's
Cudjoehead
Bunkum Bay
Trant's Bay
Woodlands Bay
Centre Hills
Lime Kiln Bay
Salem
Vue Pointe
Olveston
Spanish Point
Old Road Bay
Old Towne
Iles Bay
Harris'
Cork Hill
Molyneaux
Fox's Bay
Long Ground
Bird Sanctuary
St George's Hill
Richmond
Bransby Point
Montserrat Springs
Soufriere Hills
Chance Peak
PLYMOUTH
Wapping
Galway's Soufriere
Sugar Bay
Fort Barrington
Roche's Bluff
Brodericks
Great Alps Waterfall
Germans Bay
St. Patrick's
Shooters Hill
Radio Antilles
Shoe Rock
Old Fort Point
GUADE LOUPE PASSAGES
0 1 2 3 km
MONTSERRAT

ernor who presides over the Executive Council. The Governor has certain reserve and discretionary powers, but he normally consults elected ministers before using them. Essentially, therefore, policy decisions are made by the local political directorate.

The legislature comprises seven members democratically elected every five years on a franchise of universal adult suffrage, two official members (the Attorney General and the Financial Secretary), two nominated members, and a Speaker elected by the Council from the society at large. Laws require the assent of Her Majesty's government, which has power of disallowance, but this veto is scarcely ever used.

The four ministers, who are normally drawn from the elected members, make up the Executive Council. The Chief Minister is usually responsible for finance, economic planning and information; another minister takes charge of agriculture, trade, lands and housing; a third is responsible for public works and utilities; and the fourth minister takes charge of education, health and community services. Most ministers are responsible for additional, usually related, matters not reflected in their designations.

2. The Ministry of Education, Health & Community Services

Education is administered by a composite ministry which also administers health and community services. The latter includes sports, culture, youth and women's affairs. Originally entitled the Ministry of Social Services, the title was changed in 1972 at the initiative of the department of education to Education, Health & Welfare to reflect better its primary focus on education and health. It was later entitled Education, Health & Community Services to escape the sterility of 'welfare', a term which subsumed the several social and cultural functions which the ministry served.

To put it negatively, the ministry embraces mostly those areas of government which do not fall neatly into the other ministries. To express it positively, there is a commonality factor in that it deals with the development of human and cultural resources and is sometimes perceived as an essentially spending ministry by other sections of government administration. There is a general appreciation, nevertheless, that education and health also constitute critical investment in the island's development. Indeed the notion of development is given some substance through attempts to promote income-generating activities among women and other community groups.

A single Permanent Secretary normally serves the ministry with all its departments. In 1988 the portfolio was split to make a Permanent

Secretary for Health & Community Services separate from that for Education. However, this was more an exigency of general government staff deployment than an act of deliberate policy, and a 1989 Commission on the public service recommended that in order to effect economies the ministry revert to a single Permanent Secretary as soon as convenient.

Current educational activities are dominated by a recent decision to restructure the education system to provide all children with at least five years of secondary education. Prior to this, secondary education was elitist in that students were selected though a type of 11-plus examination. A critical facet of the comprehensive-type structure is a strong pre-vocational programme which has just been implemented. Consultants from the United Kingdom (UK) formulated the framework of the pre-vocational programme, and a local teacher was subsequently designated as the coordinator and sent for training in England. This dependence on the UK for ideas and advice in education is a perennial characteristic of the system, but some efforts are being made to use regional personnel. Indeed it is heartening to note that curricula for the Commonwealth Caribbean region in the fields of technical and vocational education at secondary and post-secondary levels are now at an advanced stage of formulation.

The current emphasis is clearly on a more egalitarian system and on technical-vocational education. But even in official circles there is residual tension between the traditional discrimination in favour of academic learning and the struggle of pre-vocational education to gain parity of esteem. Some teachers fear that early streaming and rigid compartmentalisation may threaten the purpose of restructuring by creating a pre-vocational type, meaning the apparently less academically talented.

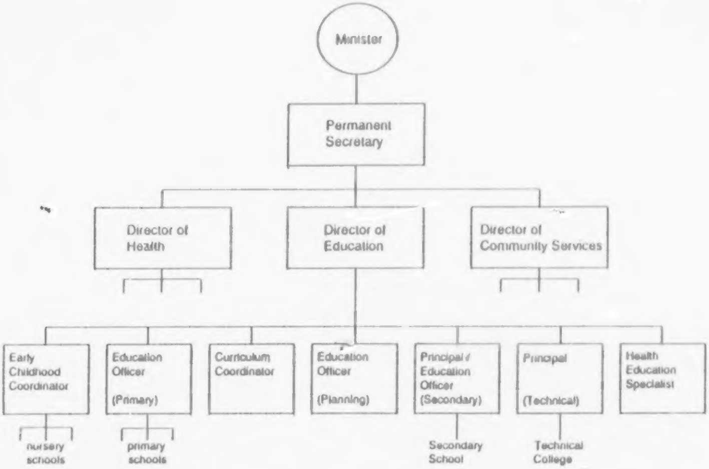
The official priority given to technical education is demonstrated in quantitative and qualitative development in the island's Technical College. In a recent address at the College's graduation ceremony, the Minister of Education stated (1989, p.2) that the "Technical College will be substantively upgraded so that it will become a truly post-secondary institution.... Steps will therefore be taken to move up to the provision of advanced and even to first year university level courses."

3. Formal Organisation of the Ministry of Education

As indicated in Figure 9.1, the Permanent Secretary is the chief administrative officer in the Ministry with the Director of Education as the chief professional officer. Until 1983 the Director was known as the

Chief Education Officer. With a professional staff of only seven persons, job activities are flexible and job descriptions are not adhered to rigidly.

Figure 9.1: The Ministry of Education, Health & Community Services, Montserrat (1990)


Minister
Permanent Secretary
Director of Health
Director of Education
Director of Community Services
Early Childhood Coordinator
Education Officer (Primary)
Curriculum Coordinator
Education Officer (Planning)
Principal / Education Officer (Secondary)
Principal (Technical)
Health Education Specialist
nursery schools
primary schools
Secondary School
Technical College

The Education Officer (Planning) is a recent addition to the Ministry staff and is officially responsible for "statistical work, preparation of project proposals, liaison with donor agencies, and organisation of external examinations". The need exists, it seems, to articulate more clearly the role of an EO (Planning) in a micro department. Most of the critical planning is described as a collective function of senior staff led by the Permanent Secretary and the Director. Lack of appreciation for the vital role and functioning of the EO (Planning) office could well determine the fate of the post. After the first holder resigned to undertake overseas study, the Ministry of Finance blocked the move to replace him. At the time of writing, therefore, the fate of the post is uncertain. The Ministry of Education is fighting to retain the post, but the Financial Secretary and the Permanent Secretary (Administration) wish to cut it.

The newest position in the Ministry, that of Curriculum Coordinator, is designated sufficiently vaguely to allow the holder to create and administer assessment instruments for junior school classes, provide guidance on and evaluation of new secondary school curricula, and be responsible for in-service teacher training. This was the originally recommended remit. In fact according to the information received from the Ministry what this officer does includes:

a) coordinating workshops that are curriculum-based,
b) developing and revising syllabi and curricula for Forms 1, 2 and 3 in the secondary school in collaboration with teachers,
c) collaborating with the EO (Primary) in organising and administering national assessments for primary schools,
d) disseminating and implementing the University of the West Indies (UWI)/USAID primary curriculum, and
e) taking responsibility for all overseas examinations.

Given the small number of officers and the absence of a teacher trainer in a situation in which some 50 per cent of the teachers are still untrained, this flexibility in task assignment is necessary. A recent move by the Ministry to redesignate the post of EO (Curriculum) was not motivated, it seems, by a desire to focus more finely on curriculum creation. Rather the move aimed to raise the salary of the post and place all Education Officers on an equal footing to allow for greater rationalisation and scope in their deployment.

Of all the Education Officers, whether so designated or not, the EO (Primary)'s job is the least generalised. Variously styled Supervisor of Schools and Inspector of Schools, the holder advises primary teachers on teaching methodology, evaluates their teaching, and monitors the progress of the schools. The pressure of office duties had in recent years reduced the time spent in each school and in inspections. Some persons in the society even alleged that standards had fallen due to this situation. Steps have now been taken to involve the EO (Primary) more intimately in the life of the schools.

One problem with this kind of specialisation in primary education is that no single person necessarily possesses all the skills required to manage such a complex and multi-faceted enterprise. To address this problem the Ministry tries to make full use of the expertise of head teachers, particularly in the areas of curriculum formulation and in-service training. Another strategy contemplated by ministry officials is to have Education Officers relate to subject areas rather than to specific levels. This could be a more effective use of available skills, since some element of specialisation is involved. And this does not necessarily jettison the coordinating and general supervisory function exercised by a single officer for a particular level of education.

The system of department heads in the island's single comprehensive secondary school enlarges the administrative pool since they are responsible for "professional matters arising from syllabuses". The nearest the Ministry gets to a specialised post is that of Guidance Officer who, significantly, occupies a teaching position rather than an independent substantive one.

Some functions of the Ministry of Education are contracted out to other Ministries. Education staff are paid through the central Treasury Department in the Ministry of Finance, and school statistics are collected and processed in part by the Statistics Unit of the same ministry. Until 1988 the building and maintenance of schools were the sole responsibility of the Ministry of Communications & Works. Jobs were often contracted out, but it was the Ministry of Communications & Works which assigned, supervised, approved and disbursed. This system has now changed, though the Ministry of Communications & Works still has overall responsibility for school and indeed all government buildings. A team of three is attached to the Ministry of Education to work full-time on building maintenance. This is a welcome development. It is hoped that these persons will in time acquire special expertise related to school buildings. At any rate, their location in the Ministry facilitates close consultation with education personnel. The Ministry of Communications & Works is too small to have many specialists, and there is usually no one particularly equipped to deal with school buildings and their requirements.

Again until recently, the government through the Ministry of Education supplied free textbooks to secondary school students on a loan basis. Since 1986 students have been required to purchase their own texts. The school undertook to procure and sell, but found the process cumbersome and wasteful of time. The business has now been assigned to a private firm.

The process of securing education supplies has always been vexing. The Ministry used to be obliged to order through the British Crown Agents. The pound yielded less because of the middleman's profit, and orders commonly took six months to procure. Only supplies of a limited value used to be purchasable locally, and for this the permission of the Ministry of Finance was required. The Crown Agents are still used, but there is now greater flexibility.

The government is responsible for all but three schools in the island. There is one private denominational secondary school and two such primary schools. This is due to no inadequacy in the government's educational provision, but rather to the churchmen's desire to use the schools as indoctrination centres for their particular brand of religion. A third private primary school is fee-paying and geared to those seeking some exclusivism. In 1989/90, private schools catered for about 2.3 per cent of primary school children, and about 4.9 per cent of secondary children. The denominational schools receive government subventions.

Although it has a Curriculum Coordinator, the Ministry lacks the funds for a curriculum unit, audio-visual aids centre or teacher training section. One solution, as noted, is to draw on the skills and services of teachers, although this reduces the time they give to their substantive tasks. In the secondary school, where students write regional and extra-regional examinations, some syllabuses come ready-made. The tasks of creating suitable curricula for the lower forms and of integrating these with overseas curricula still have to be attended to. This is a legitimate function of a curriculum office, however it is organised and staffed.

The Ministry, anticipating aid from the European Development Fund, has plans for a resource centre which will help address the need for audio-visual aids, curriculum development and in-service training. This will require at least an educator/librarian, a graphic artist and a clerk. Actually, there is no reason why a graphic artist could not in the present situation be attached to the office of the Curriculum Coordinator even if the artist also worked for other government departments. The culture section of the Ministry also needs the services of an artist.

As useful as a resource centre will be, it is not a near-perfect answer to the inherent manpower constraints due to size and the effects on vital educational operations. It will require a high degree of voluntary effort and time by teachers in an age of decreasing dedication and altruism.

Examinations relate closely to curriculum, and a special word on them is useful. The days when diagnostic tests were imported from another culture with all this means for validity and reliability are hopefully over. Tests administered at the end of primary school for entry to a streamed comprehensive secondary school are locally devised, but the Ministry has no testing and evaluation specialist. This task is currently performed by the Curriculum Coordinator who, in the words of the Ministry, "draws on the entire teaching staff at primary and secondary levels to set the tests". Although this wide participation guarantees general acceptability, questions of validity remain.

Some school leaving examinations are administered locally, but the certificates do not carry high status and are not normally acceptable as entry qualifications to the more prestigious overseas institutions. For example certificates of the UK Royal Society of Arts are considered to testify to quality achievement more than certificates from the local technical college. The Ministry is thus dependent on external examining bodies not only because of size considerations but also because of the need for national and international acceptability.

Montserrat is evidently too small to publish its own textbooks. This is considered a cultural and educational disadvantage since it is desirable for children to identify with the content of these books if as a colonial people they are to develop a new identity indigenously rooted. Fortunately, although most of the books are produced by British-based firms, some are written especially for the Caribbean using Caribbean scholars as authors or collaborators. Nevertheless for educational and economic reasons it is still more desirable to have these texts produced in the Caribbean region. In such subjects as science, modern languages and English literature there is still a heavy reliance on North American and European books, but even here the Caribbeanisation process has at least started.

Because the Ministry is short of personnel, either it does not undertake certain activities or it uses generalists to do the work of specialists. In some cases the work devolves on regional or extra-regional organisations, and occasionally the Ministry draws on the regional university which sends individual specialists for short periods.

4. Ministry Personnel

In addition to the seven professional officers, the Ministry employs another 14 staff including clerical officers, office attendants, bus drivers, bus conductors and a cleaner. Being a small country with a small population, Montserrat supposedly has a small pool from which to recruit trained administrative staff. In fact, the Montserrat teaching service has a cadre of highly qualified persons, some of whom have B.Ed. degrees from the UWI, including programmes geared to educational leadership. Indeed, the Ministry of Education and the teaching service tend to provide other ministries with senior administrative personnel.

However, the government does import expatriates occasionally. Some would argue that this expedient stems from the lingering sense of dependence on the outside and the perception that the foreign person has superior competence. A recent example was the appointment of a retired Caribbean national as principal of the Montserrat comprehensive secondary school. The holder of this post functions virtually as an EO (Secondary) even though his base is physically outside the Ministry. In the view of the government, his experience, maturity and reputation for discipline gave him the edge over local applicants. This appointment led to tension and a significant element of passive resistance and even covert demonstration. In this type of situation the usual mollifying official response is to designate the expatriate as a kind of adviser or to stipulate a definite tenure, adding that during this period a local would be 'trained' to take over.

Even when the island has an adequate pool from which to recruit senior staff, it is sometimes difficult to establish and uphold objective criteria for doing so. The society is so small that everybody knows everybody else, including their thinking, attitudes and politics. These and other extraneous factors may be taken into account when making an appointment. Senior Ministry of Education officials rightly aver that appointments are made by the Governor on the advice of a Public Service Commission following recommendations from the Ministry. However, this does not necessarily invalidate the point being made about objective criteria. In fact Ministers have been known to differ from their officials over appointees to senior education positions, and have personally intervened in the selection process. The result of a seemingly finely-tuned selection process can still be that the person best qualified for the job in professional terms is passed over.

Neutrality in recruitment is further affected by the tendency to promote on the basis of seniority, which is chiefly defined by years in the service. A recent appointment to the post of Curriculum Coordinator was to a teacher with an academic Bachelor's degree and a Diploma in Education instead of a candidate with a Bachelor's degree in Education with curriculum as his specialisation. The former candidate was a competent teacher and senior in years and teaching experience. Considerations of seniority apparently took precedence over the technical requirements of the job. In a small service where the officer is the sole person in a 'unit', the implications of this kind of recruitment can be serious. Problems can be reduced by providing training for the chosen candidate, but this is costly. One reason sometimes put forward for promoting on this basis is that the younger person has another chance. This is not an easy problem to solve since good administration has to take account of personal factors.

Job descriptions are attached to each Ministry job, but on recruitment a candidate's experience does not always match the definition precisely. This flexibility is functional in that it allows the kind of recruitment such as that of the Curriculum Coordinator alluded to above. Also the descriptions are sufficiently broad to allow for unforeseen activities, some of which emerge and evolve after appointment. There can be quite a divergence between a stated job description and the *de facto* one. At any rate, the phrase "and any other duties which the Permanent Secretary may assign from time to time" is supposed to legitimise the added work. For the EO (Planning), the added work in practice meant, in the view of one observer, meeting and chaperoning visitors to the Ministry and being a general duties officer.

The Ministry has now prepared a small handbook of job descriptions for each officer. This is a valuable guide. Most job descriptions have evolved and therefore reflect to a great extent the current tasks of serving officers.

5. Professional Training of Ministry Personnel

No pre-service training specific to Ministry jobs is provided for Ministry personnel. Those with a primary teaching background are likely to have attended a two-year training course in a regional teachers' college, while secondary school teachers would have acquired a one-year diploma in education which is initial teacher training in the UWI for persons who hold academic degrees.

Education Officers usually come 'raw' to their jobs without any training or orientation in administration and supervision. The present Director of Education followed the usual pattern. With a degree from the UWI, she proceeded after some years of teaching to study for a Diploma in Education at the same institution. She later pursued a one-year course at the University of London, gaining an Associateship Certificate. From a teaching position in the secondary school, she became EO (Secondary) and later Director.

Similarly, the EO (Primary) undertook a two-year course at the Leeward Islands Teacher Training College in Antigua. He followed this up after some years with a one-year course in Newcastle upon Tyne (UK), obtaining an Associateship Certificate. He then attained an academic degree at the UWI in Barbados. After two years of primary school headship and eight years as a junior secondary principal, he was appointed EO (Primary). He later received further professional training at the University of Manchester (UK), obtaining a Masters degree in education with teacher education as his speciality.

The first EO (Planning) had a degree and diploma in education but went directly from teaching into the new position. After for two years, he resigned to study in New York for a Masters degree in educational technology. The course seems to be directly relevant to modern educational planning, but there is no guarantee that this officer will rejoin the service after training.

This illustrates the tendency for officers to serve before they are trained and then either to leave after training or to be promoted out of particular positions. Retaining a stable corps of professional educators with specialised training for specialised positions for a significant period is extremely difficult in these circumstances. The Curriculum Coordinator is another example in which training for the specialised position will come, if at all, after years of performance.

Most professional training, though general in nature, is obtained in Caribbean institutions. Even so, questions of social relevance are raised since Montserratians studying in Jamaica tend to research Jamaican problems. While the results have greater direct applicability to Montserrat than would studies on British society, the contexts and environments are not identical. Fortunately, educators in Caribbean institutions are conscious of the need to provide for this. Because of proximity and better transport connections it is easier for the Barbados campus of the UWI to make such provision than for the Jamaica campus. Most training for Montserrat is appropriately organised in or from Barbados or in training institutions in the closer sub-region.

This does not of course solve the problem that recruits for specialist positions often lack some of the necessary skills. One possible solution would be for the regional university to arrange short orientation courses analogous to those which any respectable local education department should mount if it has a policy of hiring untrained teachers. The assumption is that a similar problem exists in other territories served by the university.

Another solution, which does not preclude the first, is to have short attachments to an education department in the region with a more stable corps of specialist officers. Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad are possible locations for such attachments. This strategy could also help new officers to give functional meaning to the general statements of job descriptions, which is especially necessary when positions are new.

It is a hopeful sign that a considerable amount of in-service training of education officials takes place in the Caribbean region. Moreover training is given a Caribbean focus even when trainers from outside the region are involved. In any case, officers are expected to be mature and sufficiently sensitive to maximise the results of their training by adapting and applying new ideas to their particular situations.

While it is encouraging that much training is Caribbean-based, one suspects that much of it is *ad hoc*. The need still exists for systematic training for education administrators within some rational framework. Perhaps regional courses should emanate from a survey of needs as defined by the various Ministries. Technical assistance from overseas can be better utilised if the training addresses particular needs determined by the beneficiaries. The training can thus be incremental, serving specified programmatic goals over a period.

6. The Ministry Hierarchy

Because of the small number of officers in the Ministry, there is hardly any administrative pyramid and consequently extremely limited opportunity for promotion. The fact that the retirement age is as low as 55 helps, but creates another problem. Given the recruitment and orientation and training practices described above, it may take an officer a number of years, including two perhaps for overseas training, before he or she can operate with confidence and mastery.

Nevertheless, the problems of staleness and poor motivation remain. The Ministry has no positive policy for dealing with this except that when opportunities for promotion into another branch of the service arise the superior officer "will not stand in the way". At least one Permanent Secretary in the government service was formerly a Chief Education Officer. Sometimes the move is purely lateral, as with a former Education Officer who became Energy Officer in order to gain attractive perquisites and greater potential for advancement. Because quick turnover is likely to be endemic, appropriate orientation and training for educational management become a policy imperative.

Given the concept of seniority which prevails and its role in promotions, it is not common for specialist officers to be by-passed for generalists. It is possible, for instance, for the psychologist to become Director of Education, though she would then cease to function as a specialist. In this small society it would appear that personal interests prevail over professional and technical needs whenever the two conflict. In a management culture in which generalists are appointed to specialist positions, it is easy to treat the loss cavalierly. Stop-gap measures are part of the management style of this small ministry. The danger is that what is stop-gap is likely to assume an unwarranted imprimatur.

7. Extra-Ministerial Service

Some ministry officials serve on external government bodies and committees, but in most cases their work relates directly or indirectly to education. The Permanent Secretary is chairman of the Caribbean Institute of Applied Computer Technology (CARIACT), and serves on the government scholarship committee and on the Ministry's Committee for Social Security. The Director of Education is a member of the University Centre's advisory council; and the Health Educator serves in the Family Planning and Old People's Welfare Associations.

These involvements consume valuable time which could have been invested in direct educational administration, but they give Ministry officials valuable knowledge of and insights into contemporary developments which impact on, and which are impacted on by, the educational enterprise. They can acquire a broader view of the environment and culture in which they operate. Indeed their own education is enhanced and their horizons widened.

8. International Linkages

Although Montserrat's colonial status prevents it from securing aid from some international organisations, being small it gets a relatively high amount of aid. The education department currently benefits from aid projects with the UK Overseas Development Administration, Voluntary Service Overseas, Peace Corps, USAID, Partners of America, CIDA, European Development Fund, and Unicef. The Ministry also has links with Unesco. The Caribbean Network of Educational Innovation for Development (CARNEID) assists Unesco member states in implementing innovation, and the Major Project in Education for Latin America & the Caribbean provides a monitoring service.

The aid comes in the form of technical assistance personnel (in scarce skills), equipment, buildings, scholarships, and attachments. It is a godsend to a poor country like Montserrat which is dependent on external financing for nearly all capital works. Overseas advisers and trained specialists temporarily augment the capabilities of the Ministry. The restructuring of the secondary education system would hardly have been possible without overseas finance for buildings and equipment. As observed above, while the pre-vocational programme was developed by local teachers, leadership was provided by British consultants. The Peace Corps and VSO provide manpower and technical assistance on an ad hoc basis. Some volunteers fill important gaps in areas like special education, music and the technical trades.

However, aid is not an unmixed blessing. Donor organisations have their own agendas which are often generalised to serve a number of countries and which may fail to take account of the needs of particular countries. Worse yet, some donated institutions derive from a donor country's frame of reference and come with an imported nomenclature and often curricular focus. This happened to some extent when the junior secondary system was introduced in 1972. Montserrat was among a number of countries in the Caribbean to which Britain with assistance from Unesco gave junior secondary schools. Up until they were phased out, they were never totally integrated into the existing school system.

This is all linked with the temptation to take aid simply because it is given. Some projects create new tasks for Ministry officials, and sometimes teachers are taken from their classes. This does sometimes help to keep local educators abreast of new thinking; but in many cases the end value is doubtful. Also, the government does not always have the funds for the new recurrent costs which are required to sustain projects. In short, aid can be costly. It is refreshing to note that the Ministry now refuses projects of doubtful value and in particular projects which keep teachers away from their classes with unnecessary workshops and seminars.

The key regional organisations which relate to the Ministry are the UWI Faculty of Education, and the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC). The university provides advice and training on and off island, and since the institution belongs to the entire region Montserrat has an administrative voice. The Ministry of Education represents the government in the university's administration. This is usually done by the Permanent Secretary, while the Director relates to the Faculty of Education. On a small island it is useful for these officers to meet Caribbean colleagues and become aware of new developments in institutions which impact on their work.

Many visitors come to the Ministry for various purposes and lengths of time. The majority come to provide needed specialist skills or services and to assess the ongoing work of the Ministry. It is difficult for sensitive officers not to glean from them some knowledge of what obtains elsewhere. This helps to enhance the general awareness and 'critical climate' of the Ministry.

The CARNEID programme promotes cooperation through the exchange of documents and experiences, and facilitates understanding of the processes and practices of educational exchange. While Montserrat is no longer a 'member' of Unesco following the UK's abandonment of that body, CARNEID includes the island in its programmes. Montserrat has benefitted from workshops in education planning, computers in education, and documentation techniques. Moderate funds are expected soon to be available to develop cultural kits for schools.

As mentioned above, Montserrat also participates in Unesco's Major Project in Education for Latin America & the Caribbean. This project checks on countries' internal functioning in areas like literacy, minimum years of schooling, and general efficiency and quality. However, Montserrat has been involved in only a limited way, partly because of lack of finance to attend meetings.

Apart from supplying the education services with scarce professional skills, UWI and CXC personnel provide indirect in-service training for Ministry officials through their periodic discussions of professional matters. UWI personnel, and to a lesser extent CXC staff, bring research data and new ideas to bear on their work and counsel. They also assist in areas like testing and curriculum planning in which the Ministry is short on competence. In the curriculum area, the work of CXC is particularly important in this anglophile colony because the CXC seeks more and more to Caribbeanise educational content and so root curriculum more firmly in the culture.

Another international connection is with a Canadian body called Organization for Cooperation in Overseas Development (OCOD). This body helps with workshops for in-service training of teachers. By providing materials for the workshops, the organisation also supplements the Ministry's slender budget.

Although the advantages accruing to a poor country from these institutions are considerable, not forgetting the cross-fertilising effect of relating to other colleagues in the region who are being similarly helped, there is something fragmentary and unfocused about it all. The Ministry perhaps needs a development plan into which as far as possible the guidance and assistance will fit. It also needs a Planning Officer to coordinate it all and to relate closely to the overseas bodies to ensure local input and conformity with harmonious growth and development. The OCOD practice of using local counterpart tutors and involving them at the planning stage is valuable. Even so, a national framework within which to plan is necessary. Without some coordinating and stabilising principle the various currents could be conflicting, heady and only marginally effective.

Responding to the notion of a master plan for the education sector, senior Ministry officials have pointed out that the restructuring of secondary education is their major current activity and that it has entailed consequential changes in the primary and even the technical college programmes and structures. Further, "plans have been made to begin a full-scale planning exercise to reflect the direction for the next 10 years ['post-Hurricane Hugo'] covering the full range of the education spectrum from pre-school to post-secondary". Perhaps account of the need for a coherent programme of continuing education might be taken in such a plan. It is expected that personnel from the Government Development Unit will be involved in the planning process, since for obvious reasons educational planning cannot be isolated from the economic environment.

The UK through the British Development Division (BDD) in Barbados is a major aid donor generally, and a major supporter of education. The UK supplies education buildings, equipment and technical assistance. While one has to be grateful for this lingering mother-country generosity, one has to be careful not to reinforce the culture of dependence already so pronounced in this country. It is now the established practice to ensure that visiting experts understand the local environment and do not dictate development from their own untempered perspectives. The locals must be a source of basic ideas and must help to determine what counts as relevant and valid knowledge. If this is taken to its logical conclusion, the case for a regional publisher of Caribbean textbooks and support material becomes even stronger.

Like other countries large and small, Montserrat is besieged with requests for information from international organisations. It is estimated that putting together such information can consume an eighth of the time of an education official. Indeed the post of EO (Planning) was originally proposed to deal with this kind of request, thereby freeing the Director to devote more time to professional duties. In short, these demands add to the burden and consequently the cost of administration. Perhaps more of the responsibility for statistical information should be assigned to the Government Statistics Department in order to free key professional officers from what is a chore even though it makes intellectual demands.

On the other hand, scores of reports flood the office from Unesco, the Commonwealth Secretariat and elsewhere. These find their way to the offices, but are not systematically shelved or catalogued. Occasionally a title catches the eye and snippets are read for information or speech quotes, but education officers have very little time for this or any other kind of professional reading. As a result, very little practical use is made of the information. It might be useful to have someone skim through these publications and distribute them to persons including teachers who can use them. The Ministry started a documentation centre, but its effectiveness was reduced if not nullified by lack of staff to catalogue and maintain the material. The plans to develop a teachers' centre in collaboration with the University Centre's library may help solve part of the information problem. Even then some staffing will be necessary.

No formal provision is made in this Ministry for substitutes when an officer is absent. Generally, though, the Assistant Secretary acts for the Permanent Secretary and not the Director. This can have its professional impact, for while the Permanent Secretary usually is someone with some professional knowledge in education, the Assistant Secretary usually is not. The general practice though is for someone to cover notionally for an absent colleague and even to take urgent decisions. But even as in the case when the Coordinator of Early Childhood Education deputised for the EO (Primary) for three months, she was only able to deal with limited areas.

The business of education inevitably suffers when officers are absent from a small ministry, but good team work and record-keeping can cushion the impact of absence. In the Montserrat Ministry of Education, meetings of senior staff are held at regular intervals, and minutes of the meetings are kept. Besides, senior officers are required to submit and keep monthly reports of work done and objectives achieved. If these policies function properly, it is easier for a substitute whether from inside or outside the office to cover for an absent officer.

9. The Culture of the Ministry

In a micro Ministry in a tiny island everyone knows everyone else intimately. When relations are good, this facilitates cooperative decision-making, quick consultation and the administrative process generally. It minimises formalities such as minutes and memoranda. But when relations get sour as sometimes happens, an officer may complain of being excluded from important decision-making and there can be accusations and counter accusations about poor work and high-handed governance. If an Education Officer is beleaguered or feels beleaguered, the work suffers as he nurses hurt or struggles with his superiors.

In a small Ministry, where officers are unable to avoid each other, personal rivalries can be particularly intense. Bray & Fergus (1986, p.97) alluded to a case in which:

> Two individuals in particular have been in fierce competition for nearly a decade, and their tussle has gradually reached higher echelons as each has been promoted. Their personal rivalries have thus had increasingly severe implications for the entire system, and the issues have still not been resolved.

In a larger system it would be easier for such personal conflicts to be absorbed and redirected.

The regular staff meetings which the Ministry has now instituted should create better interpersonal relations. Officers are supposed to bring others up to date on what is happening within their own areas or responsibility, and the daily consultation between various members of staff is an on-going process (see also Kersell 1990). Perhaps efforts to have officers meet on a social basis could also assist.

A small ministry does offer scope for personal impact if there are persons with special gifts and competence. One EO, for instance, claims to have personally done much on his own initiative for the music programme of schools. But personal impact can also be perceived as negative. The same officer feels that his outspokenness, penchant for arriving at his own conclusions, and tendency to be critical of processes and actions are generally unwelcome. If this is true, it is a serious problem since a small ministry can ill afford to stifle ideas and to discourage fresh thoughts. The same officer claims not to have known who was selected as the new principal of the secondary school until the person arrived on island. This shows that the process of consultation sometimes breaks down -- unless of course the particular officer was off island at the time of discussions.

What is clear, though, is that the top managers are aware of the strategies which make for good communication and harmonious relationships, and have obviously been putting some into practice. One officer, at least, would question the effective operationalisation of these. On the other hand the top ministry officials point to a number of management decisions and policies (some of which fall outside the remit of this study) which reflect an overall changing culture. People seem to be less talking at, and more talking to. Improvements include:

(a) a major focus on parent-teacher relationships,
(b) staff development programmes on the personal enrichment of teachers and enhancement of their operational knowledge,
(c) an organised programme of staff training, and
(d) plans for the training of senior managers.

If these accurately reflect and are an artifact of the environment at headquarters, then the auspices for a healthy management culture are favourable.

And yet the state of education continues to attract negative comment in the local newspaper. Criticism comes mostly from persons who hanker after the 'good old days' of selective entrance to secondary schools and who tend to blame all ills, including the incidence of illiteracy, on the restructuring of the system. It is significant that these include teachers, though they may be less outspoken. It would seem that the educational administrators need to acquire more tools and techniques to manage educational change. At the very least, effective methods must be found to involve teachers and opinion leaders in the process of change in order to secure their commitment and support.

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Chapter 10: St. Lucia

Nicholas Frederick

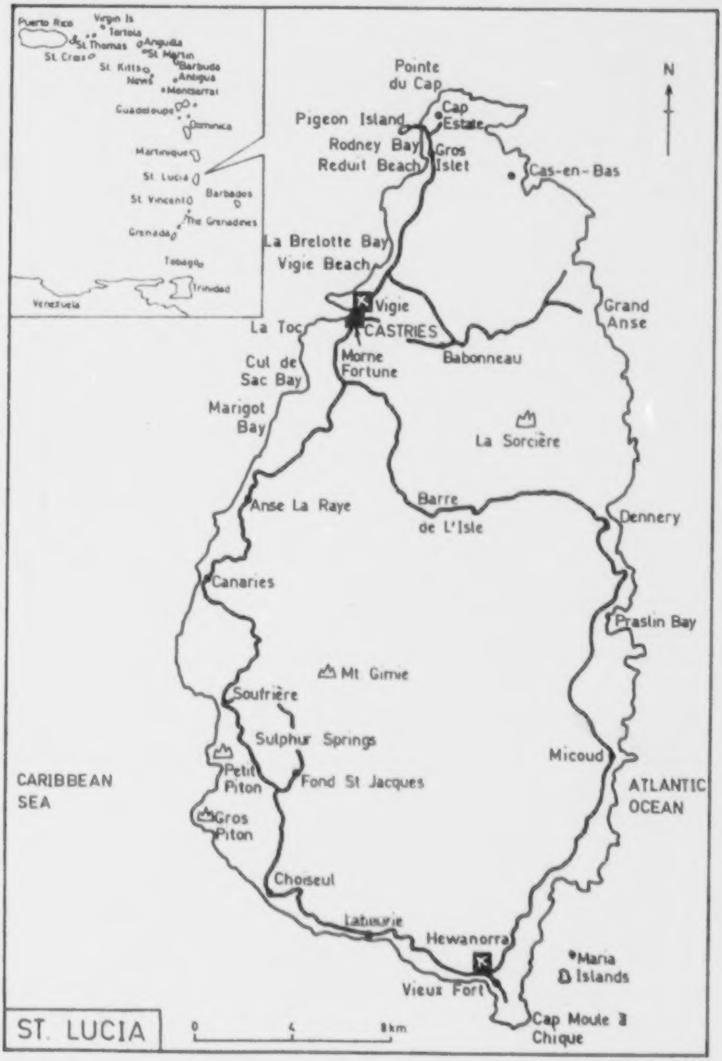
Population (1987): 142,000
Population Growth Rate (1980-87): 2.3% per annum
Land Area: 616 square kilometres
Capital: Castries
GDP per Capita (1987): US$1,160
Year of Independence: 1979
Primary School Enrolment Rate (1990): 100%
Human Development Index (1987): 0.789

The island of St. Lucia is 43 kilometres long and 22 kilometres wide. It has a mountainous terrain with intervening valleys. In the pre-colonial period the island was inhabited by Caribs and Arawaks, two tribes of Amerindians akin to those of mainland South America. The warlike Caribs eventually supplanted the more gentle Arawaks. The arrival of Europeans in the 15th century resulted in aggressive exchanges with the Caribs, who were virtually eliminated.

The early colonisers were English and French, who fought many battles for what was perceived as a perfect fortress from which to maintain regional control. The island changed hands between these two nations 14 times. Each time, the colonial power left its stamp in the form of place names, religion, style of government, system of education, and general culture.

St. Lucia was finally ceded to the British by the Treaty of Paris in 1814. From 1838 the island was governed as part of the Windward Islands, with the early governors residing in Barbados and their successors in Grenada. In 1967 St. Lucia gained full internal self-government, becoming a state in voluntary association with the United Kingdom. The country gained full independence in 1979.

The early colonial economy depended on sugar cane plantations in which African slave labour provided the bulk of the workforce. Slavery was abolished in the 1830s, but to meet the continued need for cheap


Puerto Rico
Virgin Is
Tortola
St Thomas
Anguilla
St Martin
St Croix
St Kitts
Barbuda
Nevis
Antigua
Montserrat
Guadeloupe
Dominica
Martinique
St Lucia
Barbados
St Vincent
The Grenadines
Grenada
Tobago
Trinidad
Venezuela
Pointe du Cap
N
Cap Estate
Pigeon Island
Rodney Bay
Gros Islet
Reduit Beach
Cas-en-Bas
La Brelotte Bay
Vigie Beach
Vigie
Grand Anse
La Toc
CASTRIES
Babonneau
Cul de Sac Bay
Morne Fortune
Marigot Bay
La Sorcière
Barre de L'Isle
Anse La Raye
Dennery
Canaries
Praslin Bay
Mt Gimie
Soufrière
Sulphur Springs
Micoud
Petit Piton
Fond St Jacques
CARIBBEAN SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Gros Piton
Choiseul
Laborie
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Maria Islands
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labour East Indians were brought to the island as indentured servants. Although today's population is predominantly black, these historical forces have created a rich racial and cultural heritage.

The economy is primarily dependent on agriculture, manufacturing, construction and tourism. The rate of economic growth improved from -0.8 per cent in 1980 to 6.8 per cent in 1988. In recent years the Ministry of Education & Culture has been allocated about 23 per cent of the recurrent budget and about 8 per cent of the capital budget. Education consumes about 8 per cent of GDP, which is a higher proportion than that in most comparable countries.

1. The Structure of Government

St. Lucia is a monarchy, headed by the British sovereign who is represented locally by a Governor General. The government operates according to the Westminster model, with a House of Assembly and a Senate.

The Head of Government is the Prime Minister, who has the authority to choose a Cabinet of Ministers, usually from elected government representatives. Each Minister normally has responsibilities to Parliament for the operations of a particular Ministry. Ministerial portfolios are assigned by the Governor General on the advice of the Prime Minister, and are subject to change from time to time.

It is difficult to indicate what considerations determine the nature and number of Ministries which exist at a particular time. Such considerations, however, usually include the need to provide a full range of government services, financial constraints, the availability of suitably qualified elected representatives to serve as Ministers, and the personal preferences of those involved. In 1989 the government had the following Ministries:

1. Prime Minister, Cabinet, Home Affairs,
2. Legal Affairs,
3. Finance, Statistics & Negotiating,
4. Trade, Industry & Tourism
5. Foreign Affairs
6. Education & Culture
7. Health, Housing & Labour
8. Youth, Community Development, Social Affairs & Sport
9. Communications, Works & Transport,
10. Agriculture, Lands, Fisheries & Cooperatives, and
11. Planning, Personnel, Establishment & Training.

Recent years have brought some re-arrangements in portfolios. Education used to be administered jointly with Health, but was split from it in the mid-1970s. Then in 1980 the Ministry of Education was aggregated with cultural affairs to become the Ministry of Education & Culture.

2. The Education System

(a) Structure and Priorities

St. Lucia's education system is essentially based on British patterns. However, opportunities at the primary and secondary levels were expanded largely through a French-based order of Roman Catholic priests, and features from North America have also found their way into the education system. The establishment of certain regional bodies, particularly the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) and the University of the West Indies (UWI), has fuelled a quest for greater relevance in national education systems; and St. Lucia, like some other Caribbean countries, is making a fervent effort towards indigenisation of the school curriculum.

School attendance is compulsory between the ages of 5 and 15. In the pre-compulsory stage, 125 pre-schools cater for about 5,400 children aged three to five. At the primary level 83 government and assisted primary schools cater for about 36,600 pupils, and a further 400 pupils attend four private primary schools.

Secondary schools are classified as junior secondary, senior secondary and comprehensive. The junior secondary schools limit instruction to the first three forms, and cater for children aged 12 to 15. The senior secondary schools provide grammar-type education in Forms 1 to 5. Comprehensive schools also span Forms 1 to 5, but pay much attention to technical and vocational education. In 1988/89 there were 12 government and assisted secondary schools (including three junior secondary schools) with 6,400 students. Another 1,080 students attended the two private secondary schools.

In the post-compulsory stage, enrolment rates are relatively low. This constitutes the most pressing problem faced by the Ministry of Education & Culture. Only about 30 per cent of the age group is admitted to Form 4. This shortcoming is now being addressed through expansion of existing institutions, upgrading of junior secondary schools, conversion of primary school buildings, and construction of new schools. The Ministry's two other priorities in the education sector are improving relevance in education through greater incorporation of technical/

vocational education at all levels, and reducing the shortage of trained teachers.

(b) Policies and Plans

The official Policy Statement for the years 1987-92 sets the overall goal of broadening opportunities and modernising education. This will be achieved through both formal and nonformal education. Some specific aspects of the policy are worth emphasising because they have implications for the organisation of the Ministry of Education & Culture. For example the extensive programme of school construction has already required the Ministry to open a small Building Maintenance Unit. The Ministry also hopes to expand its pre-school unit and to establish a training centre for pre-school operators and their staffs; and plans to increase the emphasis on technical/vocational education will have implications for the curriculum unit, which will have to prepare new syllabuses and curricula.

The policy document also recognises needs in higher education. It notes that development in this technological era depends on the availability of trained technicians, middle managers and qualified professionals. In order to meet these needs the government has established the Sir Arthur Lewis Community College, which will pave the way for first-year and eventually for full university degree programmes. The College is scheduled for significant expansion during the next few years.

New initiatives also have implications for textbook production. If children are to be properly moulded and sensitive to social issues related to national identity and development, the government must have control of the curriculum and textbooks used in schools. Accordingly the Ministry will continue to support the Curriculum and Materials Development Unit (CAMDU), which has spearheaded the development of teaching materials and textbooks.

3. The Ministry of Education & Culture

(a) Organisation

The organisation chart of the Ministry of Education & Culture is shown in Figure 10.1. At the apex are the Minister and the Permanent Secretary (PS), with their support staff. The Minister establishes policy. The PS is the administrative head of the ministry, and is responsible to the Minister for the administration of policy. Below the Minister and the PS are the Department of Education, the Department of Culture, Library Services, and the Unesco National Commission.

Figure 10.1: The Ministry of Education & Culture, St. Lucia (1991)

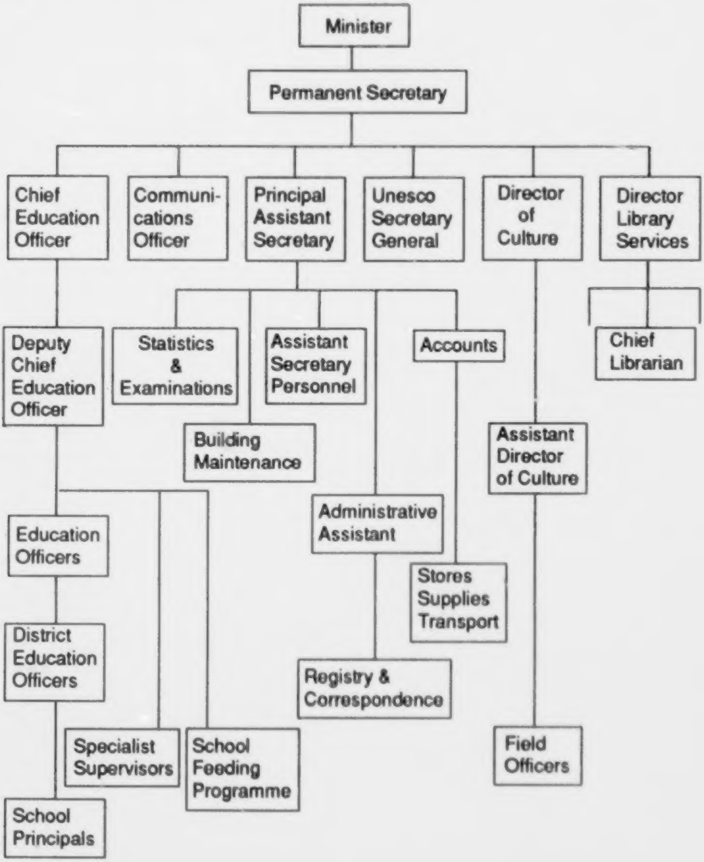

Minister
Permanent Secretary
Chief Education Officer
Communications Officer
Principal Assistant Secretary
Unesco Secretary General
Director of Culture
Director Library Services
Deputy Chief Education Officer
Statistics & Examinations
Assistant Secretary Personnel
Accounts
Chief Librarian
Building Maintenance
Assistant Director of Culture
Education Officers
Administrative Assistant
Stores Supplies Transport
District Education Officers
Registry & Correspondence
Specialist Supervisors
School Feeding Programme
Field Officers
School Principals

Table 10.1 shows that the Department of Education is the largest component. Indeed the Ministry is commonly referred to just as the Ministry of Education rather than by its full title. The Department of

Education is headed by the Chief Education Officer (CEO). Positions exist for a Deputy CEO and two Senior Education Officers (SEOs), though at the time of writing these positions were vacant. The CEO oversees the work of six Education Officers (EOs) responsible for pre-schools, primary schools, secondary schools, adult education, planning and curriculum. The CEO also supervises five District Education Officers (DEOs) and up to 14 Specialist Supervisors.

Table 10.1: Components of the Ministry of Education & Culture, St. Lucia

	Establishment Posts Dec. 1989	Occupied Posts Dec. 1989	Recurrent Budget (EC$) 1989/90	Capital Budget (EC$) 1989/90
General Administration	47	38	3,580,450	0
Department of Education	52*	38	45,355,024	14,819,000
Department of Culture	9	7	580,535	20
Library Services	36	29	431,239	265,000
Unesco National Commission	5	2	93,339	0
TOTAL	149#	114	50,040,587	15,084,020

* This is the number of staff employed in the Ministry headquarters and in the administration of the districts. It excludes teachers. Teachers and schools are, however, included in the budget estimates.

# An additional nine staff members are attached to the Ministry on wages. They include the handyman, two drivers, a customs broker and a temporary clerk.

The General Administration Branch serves all departments. It is supervised by a Principal Assistant Secretary (PAS) on behalf of the PS. Within this branch are units for Statistics & Examinations, Personnel, Registry & Correspondence, Accounts, and Stores, Supplies & Transport. The General Administration branch has almost the same number of officers as the Department of Education.

Within the Department of Education, a separate unit is responsible for the school feeding programme. The World Food Programme (WFP) of the United Nations has been providing food aid to certain target groups in the island since about 1979. One group comprises pregnant mothers, lactating mothers and hospital patients. Another group comprises agricultural workers; a third group consists of children in day-care centres; and a fourth group are children aged five to seven.

An additional School Snack Programme was launched in 1984 in three schools. At that time, the WFP project was administered from the Ministry of Health, with an inter-ministerial coordinating committee.

The programme was later expanded to 50 schools, and transferred to the Ministry of Education. It is not usual for such projects to be established special units. Rather, they are normally made to fit within established functional units so that their activities may be streamlined within normal departmental operations. However, in this case the size and longevity of the project were considered a justification for a separate unit. The unit remains an example of inter-ministry cooperation, for it continues to service needs in health and agriculture as well as education.

The Department of Culture forms another branch. This reflects its history, for when Culture was brought into the ministry it was retained as a separate wing rather than being integrated into the existing organisation. The Department of Culture has only nine officers, comprising a Director, two Assistant Directors (though these two posts were vacant at the time of writing), four field officers, one secretary, and one clerk-typist.

The Library Services branch has recently been reorganised and expanded. The newly-appointed Director of Library Services coordinates the work of the Chief Librarian, the College Librarian, the Government Documentalist, and the Government Archivist. The Chief Librarian is responsible for the Central Library and for district and rural libraries. The Government Documentalist takes charge of the documentation centres in the various Ministries, and for convenience is located in the Ministry of Planning.

The Unesco National Commission, which was created after St. Lucia joined Unesco in 1980, has also remained a separate unit. St. Lucia has taken its Unesco membership very seriously, and has both contributed to and benefitted from a number of Unesco projects. The five posts in the National Commission comprise the Secretary General, a secretary, a documentalist-librarian, an audio-visual aids technician, and an executive officer. At the time of writing, however, only the first two posts were filled.

The shape and size of the National Commission partly reflects the views and background of the present Secretary General. He has been a senior educator, a member of the legislature, and a spokesman on many issues. It was therefore necessary to create a structure which would provide job satisfaction to the individual. Several adaptations have been made to ensure that he can exercise some authority. For instance, the Unesco documentation centre has become a repository for the ministry's library acquisitions. Secondly, the documentation centre provides reprographic and audio-visual facilities required by the Communications Officer. Thirdly, the Secretary General chairs the Conference Organising Committee, and is the ministry's main liaison person in matters of protocol.

Although the organisation chart seems to imply that all officers in the below the PS are equal in rank, this is not actually the case. The CEO has a higher rank than the Principal Assistant Secretary, the Director of Culture and the Communications Officer. In turn, these officers rank higher than the Director of Library Services, who is senior to the Unesco Secretary General. The level of remuneration reflects the size of the departments and, implicitly, the officers' workloads.

A comment is needed on the Communications Officer post, as it reflects the ministry's efforts to achieve flexibility and adaptability. The post is substantially that of a Specialist Supervisor in the Education Department, and in fact the officer who first held the post in 1983 was appointed at that level. Following his transfer the post remained vacant for five years, and was filled only in 1991. Because of the previous high position held by the incumbent, the overall role of the officer in communications with all departments, his public relations role at the policy level, and the potential of his unit for growth, direct links have been established between the Communications Unit and the office of the Permanent Secretary.

Finally, Table 10.1 shows that at the date to which the table refers nearly a quarter of the establishment posts were vacant. Typically, the establishment of each unit reflects the ideal conceived by the ministry. The ideal may not be realised, however, in part because of inadequate funding and/or inability to recruit suitable people. To some extent, the difference between the establishment and the actual staffing reflects the constraints imposed by small-state realities.

(b) Centralisation/Decentralisation

The country has traditionally been divided into 10 parishes. The major divisions now are Castries, Vieux Fort, Soufrière and Gros Islet, while subsidiary ones are Micoud, Dennery, Laborie, Choiseul, Anse-la-Raye and Canaries.

In 1985 the government decided to decentralise operations, announcing that the island would be divided into eight regions. Each region would have a Regional Council, a broadly-based committee with local and central government representatives. Implementation of the decentralisation plan was assigned to the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Although implementation has been slow, a major step was the establishment in Vieux Fort of an office complex to accommodate sub-offices of the various ministries, including the Ministry of Education & Culture. The Ministry has sought to adhere closely to the government's decentralisation plan. However, the process is complex and still incomplete.

Prior to the government's announcement of its plan, the Ministry had three education districts. As a result of the government's proposals the office at Vieux Fort was assimilated within the government office building. The number of DEOs has increased to five and will ultimately increase to eight. Ministry sub-offices may in the long term be opened in other Regions. There has been no parallel decentralisation of cultural services. The Department of Culture remains entirely in Castries, from which the field officers move out as necessary.

The DEOs supervise the schools in their districts, ensuring adherence to rules and regulations, and assisting principals with day-to-day problems. They take decisions relating to class arrangements, grant 'time off' to teachers, and collect statistical data. They also communicate necessary information to the central administration in Castries. In executing their responsibilities they may receive general advice and suggestions from members of their Regional Councils. The DEOs are usually the Ministry representatives on the Councils.

Nevertheless, major decisions are taken by the central Ministry of Education. The DEOs have no authority to appoint staff to their sub-offices as all appointments to the Teaching Service are made by the Teaching Service Commission upon the recommendation of the PS Education & Culture, and most civil servants are appointed by the Public Service Commission (PSC), normally on the recommendation of the PS Education & Culture through the PS Personnel.

A slight disadvantage of decentralisation is that away from central control the region could possibly act in a manner which is not in keeping with central government policy. It is also possible that, in cases where the decentralised system is working, the Heads of Department and chief administrators are less likely to take a personal interest in the affairs of the regions, thus making them more remote.

However the advantages of decentralisation perhaps outweigh the disadvantages. The main advantage is that the autonomy, albeit limited, enables decisions to be taken more quickly, thus making the system more effective. Secondly, it reduces the burdens of the central administration since certain problems can be dealt with locally; and thirdly, it promotes leadership at the local level.

Finally, the Department of Culture has been unable to decentralise because it is too small. However, ways could be found to meet some of the objectives within the existing structure. For example, deployment of a Cultural Officer from the out-districts could be enhanced by allowing him to take up office in a region closer to his place of abode.

(c) Specialisation/Generalisation

The Ministry of Education & Culture has had to address problems relating to emerging needs. These needs include coordination of matters such as Annual Reports, school transport, Independence Day celebrations, carnival celebrations, Windward Islands school tournaments, and activities to generate social responsibility and discipline.

These functional areas are slightly problematic for three reasons. First, some of them have not been anticipated, and therefore have not been allocated to specific incumbents in the structure. Second, while seeming to be of an educational nature, some of these functions require inter-departmental coordination within the Ministry; and third, they may require substantial inputs from other Ministries and from the community.

Such cases usually require the intervention of the Permanent Secretary. But although the PS is well placed to mobilise the necessary support from the various departments, he is usually too busy to coordinate the details himself. Such duties are therefore often assigned to another officer, usually the PAS.

Emerging needs are also addressed by special committees. These have been established for the coordination of conferences, the granting of bursaries to needy students, the nomination of teachers and other candidates for training awards, and the identification of drivers to be contracted for providing subsidised transport to students. Many of these committees are *ad hoc*, but some have become standing committees.

In addition to the PAS, several officers have had to take extra tasks because of the smallness of the Ministry and the constraints on specialisation. For instance the officer in charge of the Statistics & Examinations Unit is both the Statistical Officer and the Examinations Officer. The major problem associated with these job groupings is that the incumbents may be overwhelmed by a diversity of expectations. To tackle this difficulty they are sometimes given assistants and support staff.

On the other hand, most jobs remain specialised. These include the Education Officers who have specialised roles as supervisors of pre-schools, primary schools, secondary schools, adult education, etc.. They also include the Specialist Supervisors, who supervise curriculum implementation in such subjects as language arts, mathematics, agriculture, home economics, music, art, and physical education. In the general administrative section, the post of Accountant remains specialised, while the Assistant Secretary has special responsibility for personnel and training. The Building Maintenance Unit also has specialist officers.

One strategy through which the ministry secures specialist expertise when it only needs such expertise for limited periods is through the system of special assignments. One example is a computer programmer who was recruited from the classroom. He remained on that establishment list even though he was temporarily engaged in non-classroom duties. Another example is the counterpart to the consultant in labour market studies required under a CDB/World Bank/OPEC technical-vocational education project. Like the computer programmer, the counterpart was a teacher who remained on his school's establishment during the duration of the project. He had previously been on special assignment in the Curriculum Materials and Development Unit.

Nevertheless it remains true that certain staff members could be better deployed. For instance, plans are afoot to make Specialist Supervisors serve as both curriculum developers and implementers rather than mere supervisors of teachers. Also, the work of the DEOs is to be reorganised so that they supervise secondary as well as primary schools. However, there is no serious underemployment at the Ministry. On the contrary, the central administrative arm in particular seems over-burdened.

Finally, it is useful to look at the evolution of responsibility for planning, statistics and examinations, for it exemplifies the ways that small states may need to have flexible structures both to get essential tasks done and to make the best use of scarce expertise. Until 1986, the ministry had a Planning & Statistics Unit headed by an Education Officer (Planning). There was no clearly-defined examinations unit. The Testing, Measurement & Evaluation Officer almost single-handedly undertook administration of the Common Entrance Examination, while other examinations were supervised by a range of other officers.

The Testing, Measurement & Evaluation Officer was subsequently promoted to Principal Assistant Secretary in the administrative section. The search for a replacement led to identification of a professional with a statistical background. He was an educator whose personal qualities were expected to enhance communications with the many school personnel involved in examinations, and he was therefore placed in charge of both statistics and examinations. As a result, the ministry now has a Planning Unit and a separate Statistics & Examinations unit.

4. Responsibilities Shared or not Undertaken

The Ministry shares several responsibilities with other government ministries and agencies. The following nine areas are particularly worth highlighting.

a) *Early childhood education* is shared with the Ministry of Youth, Community Development, Social Affairs & Sport, which is responsible for day nurseries catering for children up to the age of three. The Ministry of Education & Culture oversees schools for children aged three to five. However, the 125 pre-schools are owned privately.

b) *Primary schools* may be classified as Government, Assisted, or Private. Of the 87 schools, 32 are Government, 51 are Assisted, and four are Private. All the Assisted Schools are denominational, 45 being Roman Catholic and the remainder Anglican or Methodist. The government pays staff salaries for Assisted Schools, provides equipment, and controls the curriculum. The denominational boards own the school premises, and receive from the government grants for maintenance and capital works. Three of the private primary schools are owned by the Seventh-day Adventist church, which for religious reasons has desired autonomy in school management. The other private primary school caters mainly for expatriate children.

c) *Secondary schools* fit into the same ownership classification. In this sector, however, most schools are owned by the government. Of the 14 secondary schools, 10 are Government, two are Assisted (Roman Catholic), and two are Private. The arrangement for the Assisted schools is comparable to that in the primary sector. The government pays salaries and controls the curriculum, though provides a per capita student grant for maintenance and other costs.

d) *Special Education* is supported by external donors and voluntary agencies such as the St. Lucia Blind Welfare Association and the Lions Club. The National Council for the Disabled oversees the operations of the special schools, which cater for the blind, the deaf and the mentally retarded. A Ministry subvention pays for staff salaries.

e) *School Health Services* are provided jointly by the Ministry of Education & Culture and the Ministry of Health, Housing & Labour. The latter is responsible for vaccinations, dental services and eye care.

f) *Textbooks* in mathematics and language arts for primary schools are produced by the Ministry of Education & Culture with assistance from the private sector. Originally the Ministry duplicated and sold the materials itself. However assistance is now sought from local printers, and the books are sold through commercial outlets. In addition, some textbooks are now published on behalf of the Ministry by overseas companies.

g) *Scholarships* for overseas studies are granted according to procedures established by the Ministry. The final recommendations are usually made by the Training Committee, which comprises the PSs from the various Ministries and representatives of the major staff associations. The PS Personnel is the Chairman, and his Ministry supplies support staff.
h) *Teachers' salaries* are paid by the Treasury through the commercial banks. The necessary documentation is prepared by the Accounting Unit of the Ministry of Education & Culture.
i) *Budgeting procedures* are set out for each Ministry along established guidelines, but the Ministry of Finance puts together the final version of the budget. While functions such as accounting, budgeting and auditing are executed internally, external controls are imposed by the Ministry of Finance, the Treasury, and the Auditing Department.

In other cases, problems are experienced in undertaking certain tasks. It is difficult to identify cases where necessary work has never been attempted by the Ministry, but several tasks are either done inadequately or are attempted only sporadically because of limitations in manpower. They include:

- the updating of education development plans,
- public relations,
- educational broadcasting,
- provision of a resource centre for teachers,
- continuous work on the preparation of annual reports,
- updating of personnel records,
- computerisation of the record-keeping system,
- analysis of the results of the Common Entrance Examination (CEE) for the diagnosis of problems affecting the teaching-learning process, and
- quantitative research on educational effectiveness.

Finally, the ministry has no school psychologist. In 1987 one secondary school had provision for a Guidance Counsellor. As a way to make effective use of scarce resources in a small system the individual was assigned to the ministry so that she could better serve the entire system. However, she subsequently resigned.

On the other hand, the ministry did recently appoint a Curriculum Officer responsible for Family Life and Guidance Counselling in schools. The need for such programmes at both primary and secondary levels is acute in view of recent problems of drug abuse, delinquency, teenage pregnancy and general indiscipline. Full programmes have been developed, and the officer is training counterparts for effective implementation.

5. Personnel

(a) Expertise

It is not acutely difficult to identify and recruit suitable staff for the Ministry, though bureaucratic hurdles sometimes complicate recruitment. In general emigration does not significantly reduce the availability of suitable people, though difficulties are occasionally experienced in certain specialisms.

Within the Ministry itself, in recent years expatriates have seldom been employed on a steady basis. Expatriate teachers are nevertheless recruited for the schools. The Ministry has ongoing links with Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) from the United Kingdom, CUSO from Canada, Peace Corps from the USA, and Linguistic Attachés from France and Venezuela. Up to four teachers from each of these sources are recruited each year. At the secondary and tertiary levels the system has benefitted from recruitment of Guyanese and, more recently, Trinidadians. Also, the Sir Arthur Lewis Community College has an institutional development project under which staff exchanges take place with St. Lawrence College in Canada.

Within the school system the recruitment of expatriate teachers has caused little disruption. The Ministry continues to value the services of expatriates, though regulates the terms under which they are employed. The Ministry also pays attention to the balance between expatriates and locals in specific institutions.

(b) Job Definition and Appraisal

Most jobs are reasonably well defined before appointments are made. This is chiefly because some justification must be given to the relevant authorities for creating new posts. Also, vacant posts are often advertised, and the job descriptions are usually included in the advertisements and/or further particulars. Moreover, when applicants are interviewed the job description is frequently the launching pad for questioning.

However, many jobs evolve over time. For example in recent years close attention has been given to the officers in the Accounting Unit, for whom new job classifications have been proposed. Also, the post of Principal Assistant Secretary was created about six years ago to provide assistance to the PS. The role of the Assistant Secretary has also been redefined to incorporate responsibility for staffing and training.

A new format has recently been prepared for staff appraisal. Because standard appraisal forms are used throughout the public service, the criteria for assessment do not always match the jobs that individuals are doing. However, the Teaching Service has separate forms for teachers and principals. It is perhaps at the very top of the hierarchy that it is most difficult to appraise performance. The PS has sometimes completed formal appraisals of the Heads of Department, but no systematic appraisal has been made of the PS.

(c) The Hierarchy

Like comparable organisations in other small states, the Ministry of Education & Culture has a short pyramid. However, efforts were made in the early 1980s to make the hierarchy taller. The need to provide greater opportunities for individual mobility was the major motivation for the reclassification of posts in the accounting stream of the public service, which included the accountants in the Ministry of Education & Culture.

A broader reclassification exercise has just been concluded involving the representatives of the Ministry of Education & Culture, the Ministry of Personnel and the Teachers' Union. The exercise aims to encourage mobility within the teaching service and to equate terms and conditions with those of the civil service. The proposals await Cabinet approval. The government has also set up a special committee under the chairmanship of the PS Personnel to propose reclassification of positions in the civil service in order to improve opportunities for individual advancement.

One obstacle to movement in this small system arises when senior positions are occupied by relatively young persons. To tackle this difficulty arrangements are sometimes made for secondment to other organisations, especially for senior officers.

Within the individual departments of the Ministry of Education & Culture, particularly the Department of Education and Library Services, opportunities for advancement are reasonable. However, officers who wish to advance to the highest level must be prepared to abandon their specialisms.

(d) Work for External Bodies

It is difficult to identify all the roles undertaken by staff of the Ministry of Education & Culture in other Ministries and in private organisations.

Table 10.2: Officers' Involvement in Other Government Bodies, Ministry of Education & Culture, St. Lucia

Permanent Secretary
- Vice Chairman, St. Lucia Development Bank Student Loans Scheme
- Chairman, National Task Force for Discipline
- Member of several Cabinet-appointed committees, including
    - Training Committee
    - Housing Committee
    - Reclassification Committee
    - Government Tenders Board
- Member, Sir Arthur Lewis Community College Board of Governors
- Member, Independence Day Celebrations Committee

Principal Assistant Secretary
- Chairman, Education Subcommittee, National Disaster Amelioration Committee
- Chairman, Windward Islands School Tournament Local Committee

Senior Accountant
- Member, National Carnival Development Committee

Statistician
- Member, National Population Council

Chief Education Officer
- Member, Government Salary Negotiating Team
- Member, Central Emergency Organisation
- Member, Sir Arthur Lewis Community College Board of Governors

Education Officer (Curriculum)/Acting Deputy CEO
- Board Member, Radio St. Lucia

Education Officer (Pre-Schools)
- Member, National Council for the Disabled

Labour Market Information Counterpart
- Member, Road Safety Board

District Education Officer (Area 1)
- Member, Independence Day Celebrations Committee

Specialist Supervisor (Art)
- Member, Independence Day Celebrations Committee

Director of Culture
- Member, Independence Day Celebrations Committee
- Member, National Carnival Development Committee

Nevertheless, Table 10.2 presents some of the linkages with Cabinet committees and quasi-government bodies. These linkages can be numerous, especially for the Permanent Secretary.

Involvement with other bodies can be very useful. The officers gain experience which they can use in their own work, and they expand their circle of contacts. Also, the skill that individuals display in work with external bodies enhances their reputations and, as a result, the image of the Ministry. Finally, external contacts add interest and help to circumvent boredom.

However, work for external bodies may also create problems. First the demands of the external bodies may be onerous and draining. Officers may also find themselves enmeshed in conflicts of interest.

6. International Linkages

(a) Regional Organisations

Among the major regional organisations that are important to the Ministry are the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB), the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC), and the University of the West Indies (UWI).

The CDB is primarily concerned with economic development and until recently had few education projects. One important project, however, is a loans scheme for tertiary education. Funds are made available to the St. Lucia Development Bank, which has appointed a Student Loans Committee to administer them. The Ministry of Education & Culture is represented on the Committee.

The CDB has also worked with the Ministry in two other projects. One was a school construction/rehabilitation project for which the CDB in the early 1980s undertook responsibility for implementation with funds from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The other is an ongoing sub-regional technical/vocational education project co-financed by the World Bank, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the CDB itself, and the participating governments.

The CXC was established to prepare syllabuses for the various subjects in secondary schools and to set and mark examinations based on these syllabuses. The CXC promotes increasing relevance of education, for example through the indigenisation of syllabuses and the impetus given to technical/vocational education.

The UWI provides tertiary education for its member countries. It also provides consulting services as needed. The School of Education in Barbados has had a major outreach function which has included St. Lucia. Teacher education has been among its foci. The Office of University Services, based in Barbados, has made particular efforts to ensure that the needs of non-campus countries are addressed by the University administration.

(b) International Aid

St. Lucia, like most developing countries, gains aid from external donors. For example several donors have contributed to the Ministry's capital projects, especially in school construction. External agencies have included USAID, the British government, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the French government, and the Federal Republic of Germany. Assistance has also been received from Hess Oils Ltd., an American company with major interests in the US Virgin Islands which established an oil trans-shipment centre in Castries.

Donors have also assisted with special projects. They have included two major curriculum projects funded by USAID through UWI and CXC. One of the projects facilitated the development of curricula for core subjects at the primary level, while the other helped to develop secondary school syllabuses and curricula in several subjects.

Other special projects have included:

- assistance from the Association of Community Colleges of Canada for the training of senior staff in the technical college;
- funds from the Canadian High Commission for technical/vocational equipment and for several other small projects;
- donation of typewriters, exercise books and other supplies from the Canadian Organization for Development in Education (CODE);
- books from the British High Commission;
- science equipment from the Federal Republic of Germany;
- science and business education equipment from the French government;
- Special Development Assistance grants from USAID;
- finance from Unicef for equipping pre-schools;
- food from the United Nations World Food Programme for the School Snack Programme;
- financial and technical assistance from Unesco for developing curricula in prevocational education and for equipping schools;
- assistance from the Organization of American States (OAS) in adult education, special education and sports; and

- assistance from various agencies for purchase of photocopiers and computers.

It must also be recognised, however, that international aid can have a negative side. There is a danger of excessive dependence on external funds for development projects. Agreements with external donors may bring 'strings', and may require counterpart arrangements with overburdening staff-support stipulations. Moreover, the processes of project identification, development, implementation and monitoring may consume an inordinate amount of officials' time. Finally, the departure of a highly competent overseas specialist may cause a void if a local has not been trained to replace him.

The Ministry generally assigns a middle-level or senior staff member, usually on a part-time basis, to all major projects funded by external donors. In this way the Ministry tries to provide logistical support for visits of the representatives of the external bodies and for project monitoring. Unicef projects, for example, are coordinated by the EO (Pre-Schools). OAS projects in adult education are coordinated by the EO (Adult Education), and the CEO serves as the National Coordinator for the Unesco programme called CARNEID (Caribbean Network of Educational Innovation for Development).

Full-time appointments for aid projects are rare, but do include three instances. One is the Secretary General of the Unesco National Commission; a second is the School Feeding Coordinator who monitors the school snack programme; and the third is the full-time Project Manager of the CDB/World Bank/OPEC Technical-Vocational Education Project.

Because of the variety of projects, the Research Officer based in the Ministry's Planning Unit has also been designated the Project Officer. His desk acts as a clearing house for information on all ongoing projects at the Ministry.

(c) Visitors

Although the policy of the Ministry is to promote the development of local expertise as much as possible, it has an open door to visitors. The Ministry may also make specific requests to external organisations to send visitors for various types of consultation. For example, CDB personnel come to monitor and implement the project in technical education; and two consultants financed by CIDA carried out a needs assessment with a view to upgrading of the education planning unit.

Since the mid-1970s, the Ministry has also had links with the

Organization for Cooperation in Overseas Development (OCOD). This is a Canadian body which has helped run workshops for specialist teachers in primary and secondary schools. The workshops usually last for three weeks, and are preceded by preparatory visits of local educators to Canada. Eight Canadian tutors and administrative staff spent about 120 person-days in the country in 1989 in connection with these workshops.

In addition, a comprehensive teacher education project financed by CIDA and implemented by OCOD has just been initiated to upgrade unqualified teachers in four Eastern Caribbean Islands (including St. Lucia) through distance education. In order to facilitate local implementation, OCOD has set up a local office to which two Canadian staff have been posted.

The Ministry of Education & Culture has also established a National Task Force on Discipline. The Task Force identified the '4-H' movement as one creative outlet for the energies of young people. A consultant was invited from Florida State University to advise on the resuscitation of 4-H clubs.

The fact that most external visitors wish to hold discussions with senior Ministry officials can make major demands on the time of the latter. To keep this from getting out of hand, Heads of Department are encouraged to represent the Ministry and only to call the Permanent Secretary when it is really necessary. The Heads of Department also organise briefing and debriefing sessions to ensure that the goals and strategies proposed by external agencies fit those of the Ministry. Major conferences and seminars requested by overseas organisations are overseen by an interdepartmental conference organising committee.

(d) Management of Information

Ministries of Education in small countries are sometimes overwhelmed by requests by external organisations for information. This Ministry routinely receives lengthy reports from the CXC, OAS, UWI and Unesco, some of which request responses. When an agency considers a response to be crucial, it sometimes needs to send repeated reminders or even to send a representative in person. The reason for inaction usually lies in the fact that the senior management is too busy to deal with these reports, and is unable to find a subordinate officer who is both qualified and available to do the task.

Among the agencies, Unesco sends perhaps the greatest amount of documentation. It was partly because of the bulk of Unesco documentation that it became necessary to establish a special office to deal with it. This documentation centre has now been broadened to include other acquisitions.

The need to respond to these demands has forced the Ministry to identify a number of persons to assist. One of them is the Research Officer/Projects Officer in the Planning Unit, who is frequently called upon to draft background papers. The EO (Planning) is also often asked to help.

It is difficult to estimate the amount of time spent by the Permanent Secretary and the Heads of Department dealing with information requests from external bodies. A crude estimate would be about 15 per cent of the time of each officer, despite the fact that not all requests are met.

Nevertheless, it must be stressed that much of the information received from the external agencies is useful. Reports from these agencies have been used to help review policies at the Ministry. For example, much Unicef documentation has been used by the EO (Pre-Primary) and the EO (Adult Education).

(e) Absence of Individuals

The absence of individuals for overseas meetings or on long leave can seriously affect the work of the Ministry. However, methods of coping with absence have to some extent been worked out. First, each Department Head works closely with a deputy. The Deputy CEO deals with the routine correspondence addressed to the CEO, the correspondence to the Unesco Secretary General goes through her personal secretary, and the correspondence for the PS goes through the PAS. This means that in the absence of the senior officer the deputy is likely at least to understand the main issues and the state of play.

Second, there has been in operation a system in which much of the outgoing correspondence of interest to the general administration and to specific departments is circulated to the Heads before signatures are appended. The PS has an opportunity to view correspondence signed by the CEO before it is dispatched; and copies of outgoing correspondence are circulated amongst top officials before being filed. Accordingly, in the absence of any one of them someone else is likely to have some knowledge of the matter at hand.

However, matters of a highly confidential matter are not circulated. For example the PS may have access to information which he will not necessarily divulge to his deputy or to the Heads of Department. Should the PS be absent, it is difficult for his deputy to act on such matters. But when the PS knows that he will be away for a prolonged period, he uses his judgement on whether it would be proper to release such information.

The record-keeping system also facilitates continuity. With the exception of confidential matters, all documentation is handled by the Correspondence Section, which does the appropriate filing and makes the information accessible to authorised officers in the Ministry.

One other way in which disruption is minimised is by contact between Heads and their deputies by telephone or other means in the case of long absences. When Heads travel overseas, they tell their secretaries and deputies how they can be contacted. And when they are at home on leave they leave their doors open for communication. Senior officials may also report to their offices from time to time to deal with emergencies.

7. The Culture of the Ministry

(a) Lack of Neutrality

In a small state, friendship and family relationships may significantly influence administration. This can be both a problem and an asset.

The problem arises when officers experience difficulty in adjusting from family and previous collegial relationships to ones involving superordinate/subordinate relationships. There is also a greater danger of inconsistent behaviour in which administrators favour their friends and relatives. These factors may reduce productivity and overall efficiency.

On the other hand, there are advantages in having close personal relationships. Loyalty to the organisation may be greater because the employees may have a personal commitment to the leader and a vested interest in his continued leadership. Also, rules may be exercised with greater moderation and humanity because administrators are reluctant to inflict extreme punishment on their friends and relatives. In such circumstances, even autocratic leaders are more likely to be benevolent. These factors contribute to greater stability for the organisation, and protect it from the disruptions of outside forces.

The question then arising is how the authorities can maximise the advantages and minimise the disadvantages. First, it may be suggested, they should pay attention to qualifications and seniority in placement of individuals. These are more neutral criteria, which can reduce personalisation.

Officials may also be advised to adhere closely to formal procedures in other respects. For example the Financial & General Stores

Rules serve as a guide for financial and stores procedures; the Staff Orders provide guidance for civil service personnel matters; and the Teaching Service Commission Regulations provide a code for regulating the conduct of teachers. Decisions can be taken 'according to the book', and thus need not be personalised.

Authorities may also relegate decisions to committees. In St. Lucia several standing committees have been established to review special cases and requests. These include the Honorarium Committee, the Housing Committee, the Staffing & Structures Committee, the Travel & Subsistence Committee, and the Tenders Board. A Permanent Secretary may refer special cases to these committees as the need arises, thus insulating himself from the effects of decision-making.

It is also important that final decisions relating to the appointment, discipline and dismissal of teachers and civil servants are made by the Teaching Service Commission and the Public Service Commission, both of which are appointed by the Governor General. Because of the manner in which recommendations for appointments, transfers and promotions are made, Ministry officials are protected from accusations of nepotism and from the consequences of direct decision-making.

Finally, one way to circumvent the problem of sanctions in a highly personalised society is to ensure that the organisation sets appropriate structures within which groups can themselves establish standards of performance. Systems of appraisal can then be based on the standards which have been set by the individual groups.

(b) Personal Impact

Another feature of small Ministries concerns the personal impact of leaders. Again this has both advantages and disadvantages, depending on the quality of the leaders. Where the leader is capable, the general performance of the Ministry improves; but where he has significant shortcomings, much damage may be done.

One positive example of personal impact was the decision to centralise the tertiary level institutions at a location on Morne Fortune. This decision paved the way for the 1985 integration of these separate institutions into a single tertiary-level college, the Sir Arthur Lewis Community College.

By contrast, a negative example was the decision to establish junior secondary schools in the early 1970s. This innovation sought to expand secondary education opportunities and to raise the general educational level of the population. However, dissatisfaction mounted because better students were 'creamed off' into the regular secondary schools, leaving only the less capable students for the junior secondary schools. Also, there was no automatic provision for the continuation of the pupil's secondary education at established secondary schools; and school leavers had neither the educational background nor the required skills to face the open society. Because of these shortcomings, the junior secondary schools are now being phased out through a process of upgrading.

In order to maximise the scope for desirable change, one would recommend the establishment of consultative committees in order to obtain beneficial ideas and weed out undesirable ones. Such committees could comprise relevant Ministry officials, other persons with expertise from other Ministries, statutory bodies, or the general public as necessary. The reports of these consultative committees should be seriously reviewed by senior administration and the political leaders.

Further, to limit the dangers of undesirable change one would recommend that there be clearly defined laws, regulations, rules and procedures for administering the system. These may protect the system from unwarranted and excessively sudden changes.

(c) Information Flows

The 'grapevine' is undoubtedly a powerful agent for spreading information in the Ministry. Human interest information (for example, that relating to transfers and promotion) tends to flow particularly rapidly within this informal network.

Formal communication, however, tend to be relatively slow, and the word of a meeting to be convened certainly does not spread as quickly. Indeed the administrator must ensure that the information is delivered to the individuals concerned, preferably in writing, as they tend to complain that they misunderstand the dates, times or venues of meetings. Formal communication therefore requires a considerable amount of effort involving memoranda, circulars and telephone messages.

Frequently, important events at the Ministry are not known to the rank and file. Examples are decisions to construct new schools in particular locations, or the proposed staging of major cultural events. The Ministry's records are replete with cases where important meetings have been aborted or have been poorly attended because the organisers misjudged the amount of time that the notices would take to reach the targetted persons. There have also been unfortunate instances where senior officials have failed to be represented at important functions because they miscalculated the time it would take to communicate to another official a request to deputise. It is partly in an endeavour to exchange information that department staff meetings are organised.

8. Conclusions

The Ministry of Education & Culture in St. Lucia shares many features with ministries in other small states. This chapter has highlighted issues of specialisation/generalisation, shared responsibilities, job definition, training, inter-personal culture, and so on.

The chapter has also, of course, highlighted features which are distinctive to St. Lucia. For example, although the island is small in area, the authorities have been keen to decentralise administration. Structures contrast markedly with those of Barbados and Montserrat, for instance.

To some extent, the chapter has indicated divergence between ideals and reality. Although the total establishment of the ministry has nearly 150 posts, only three quarters of the positions are filled. This reflects financial and manpower constraints. Likewise, while it is difficult to identify areas in which necessary work has never been attempted by the ministry, some tasks are either done inadequately or are attempted only sporadically. They include the updating of education plans, public relations, educational broadcasting, and provision of resources for teachers.

However, within the limitations of resources the ministry does achieve a great deal. School attendance is compulsory between the ages of 5 and 15, and many children also attend pre-school. St. Lucia also has valuable post-secondary provision, through both UWI and the Sir Arthur Lewis Community College. The Department of Culture is much smaller than the Department of Education, but has significant impact even with an establishment of only nine posts.

Finally, the chapter has stressed the importance to St. Lucia of international connections. The government takes membership of Unesco very seriously, and like other countries in the Caribbean St. Lucia both contributes to and benefits from the CDB, CXC and UWI. The country also benefits substantially from external aid, though is trying to avoid excessive dependence.

Part IV: Europe

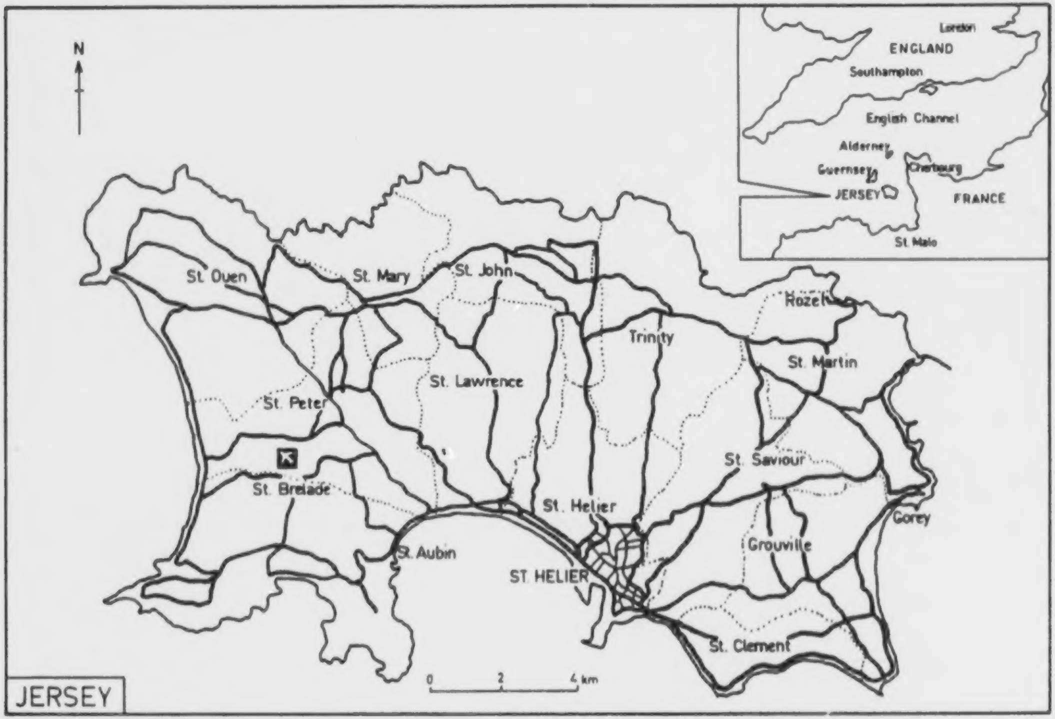
Chapter 11: Jersey

John Rodhouse

Population (1989): 82,500
Population Growth Rate (1981-89): 0.1% per annum
Land Area: 117 square kilometres
Capital: St. Helier
GNP per Capita (1987): US$17,400
Primary School Enrolment Rate (1990): 100.0%

Jersey is the largest of the Channel Islands, located between England and France. The other Channel Islands are Guernsey, Alderney and Sark. Like the Isle of Man, these islands are dependencies of the United Kingdom (UK). However, they are not part of the UK. Nor do they form a political unit in themselves. The term 'Channel Islands' is a geographic rather than a political descriptor, and Jersey is governed independently from the other islands.

Jersey's right to independent government was established many centuries ago. Originally the island was part of Normandy, which is in present-day France. The year 1066 brought the Norman conquest of England and the political incorporation of Normandy and England. Indeed, it is sometimes said that as Jerseymen were part of the invading army, England was the Island's first colony! In 1204, however, King John of England lost Normandy to France. For some centuries France and England had uneasy relationships, and for the English kings it was useful to have loyal Channel Islands so close to the French coast from which to threaten their neighbours. To secure this loyalty, the monarchs granted important privileges, including the right to free trade and freedom from English taxes. Jersey also operates an independent education system.


N
London
ENGLAND
Southampton
English Channel
Alderney
Guernsey
Cherbourg
JERSEY
FRANCE
St Malo
St. Ouen
St. Mary
St. John
Rozel
Trinity
St. Martin
St. Lawrence
St. Peter
St. Saviour
St. Brelade
St. Helier
Gorey
Grouville
St. Aubin
ST. HELIER
St. Clement
0 2 4 km
JERSEY

Although the UK government plays very little part in Jersey's internal governance, it does take responsibility for foreign affairs and defence. Jersey has to help pay for defence costs, and in the future it may have to pay for the services of the Foreign Office. It can do this out of its internal revenues. The fact that Jersey can set its own taxation laws has permitted it to establish a thriving off-shore banking sector. The island also gains considerable revenues from tourism.

1. The Structure of Government

Jersey is governed by the States, an assembly comprising 12 Senators elected on an island-wide franchise, 29 Deputies representing parishes or districts, and 12 Connetables elected by the 12 parishes. Most decision-making at the political level is carried out in Committees. Each Committee consists of a President and six members, all of whom must be members of the States.

Committee Presidents are in effect the Ministers for their sectors of the government, and are politically and publicly responsible for decisions and actions. However this responsibility is shared with the Committee members, who participate in decision-making.

No political parties are represented in the States, and each member is elected on a personal basis. Alliances are formed for specific purposes, and have limited lifespans. There is no Cabinet, though the Finance & Economics Committee and the Policy & Resources Committee have considerable influence and power.

The Bailiff, who is also the Chief Magistrate, presides over the sittings of the States and of the Royal Court. Together with the Deputy Bailiff, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor General, the Bailiff is appointed by the Queen. The monarch also appoints as her representative in the Island a Lieutenant-Governor, who serves for a term of five years.

Although the States can make local laws which stand for up to three years, more permanent legislation must be submitted for Royal approval in the Privy Council. At this stage the UK government can exercise a strong influence. The formal channel for all communication between the Jersey and UK governments runs through the Lieutenant-Governor and the Secretary of State for Home Affairs. Jersey officials have frequent contacts with the Home Office and other government departments in the UK.

Some Departments are large enough to warrant the full attention of a Committee of the States. In other cases a single Committee is responsible for several Departments. Table 11.1 lists the principal

Committees and, where it is not obvious, their functions. Several small Committees and Departments which cannot really justify listing as 'ministries' have been omitted.

Table 11.1: Principal Committees and their Functions, Jersey

Committees	*Functions*
Agriculture & Fisheries	
Defence	Police, Fire Service
Education	
Establishment	Personnel services for most States employees
Finance & Economics	Treasury, Taxation, Economic Advice, Commercial Relations, Immigration
Fort Regent	Operates a major leisure centre
Harbours & Airport	
Housing	
Island Development	Planning and land use
Postal Administration	
Public Building & Works	
Public Health	
Resources Recovery	Used to be called the Sewerage Board!
Social Security	Pensions and health insurance
Telecommunications	
Tourism	

There is in Jersey an inevitable overlapping of political and bureaucratic activity. This is one of the reasons why the processes of larger scale organisations cannot be easily applied in a small one. In my experience, small state politicians know -- and want to know -- a great deal about the activities of the bureaucracy, and involve themselves in the bureaucracy's decision making. Larger systems in which I have worked have been able to build 'protective' procedures which create some distance between the politicians and the civil servants. The nature of the society, the range of tasks to be undertaken, the narrower and to some extent sharper political focus in the small system all prevent such procedures arising.

2. Education Department Responsibilities

(a) Grouping of Functions

The official title of what is in effect Jersey's ministry of education is the States of Jersey Education Department. It is responsible for:

- formal education for all children aged between 5 and 15 (soon to be raised to 16),
- tertiary education, both academic and vocational/technical, for those requiring it,
- adult and continuing education,
- library services,
- youth services,
- vocational training outside the education system,
- child care and welfare,
- sport, recreation and leisure services for the community, and
- support for cultural activities.

This grouping of functions in the Education Department has no articulated rationale. In most cases the logic for the grouping seems to rest either on common use of resources (as in sport, recreation and leisure), or on the common nature of the operations and their users (as in child welfare and youth services). In at least one case, that of service to the handicapped, no other States department was prepared to accept an additional workload, and it was taken by the Education Department because staff were convinced of the need. Education in Jersey, as elsewhere, has over the years been like a hatstand on which various pressure groups and interests have lodged a variety of headgear!

(b) Shared Responsibilities

As in all small states, some functions are undertaken jointly with other government Departments. The five main areas are:

- *Finance.* Although all accounting and control of the education budget is retained within the Education Department, by law only the Treasury can pay out public funds. All payments, including the salaries and wages of the Department's employees, are therefore made by the States' Treasury.
- *Planning.* This is undertaken in the Education Department with the assistance of the States' Planning Department.

- *Building Works.* The Department of Public Building & Works provides architectural and engineering services for capital works. All other building work, including annual maintenance, is dealt with by the Education Department using private contractors.
- *Committee Meetings.* The States' Greffe is a body responsible for organisation and clerical support for all States meetings. The Greffe provides a clerk for the Education Committee, and vouches for the records of all meetings.
- *Legal Advice.* The Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General are the legal advisers to the Committee and the Department. Legislation is produced by the legal draftsman in accordance with instructions prepared by the Department.

The Education Department also works with non-government bodies. Among the main ones are the Arts Council for cultural activities, the Training Council for vocational training, and voluntary organisations including the churches for youth work.

The island also has six private schools. All but one of these schools receive substantial funding from the Department, but they are seen as outside the direct control of the Education Committee. They provide for about 15 per cent of the school population.

(c) Work not Undertaken

Many functions that are normal practice in larger systems, such as long-term planning, compilation of statistics, and regular presentation of reports and policy documents, are not undertaken in Jersey because of lack of staff and time. Some other functions are made possible only by direct agreement and contract with external bodies. These include:

- *Examinations.* These are almost entirely taken from the UK. Local qualifications with examinations have been developed in French and in Financial Trust Management, but most school pupils take examinations set in England & Wales.
- *Curriculum Development.* This follows on the work done in the UK, and is an aspect of dependency. Some truly local curriculum development initiatives have been successful in language teaching and vocational education, but they have been limited. Textbooks are bought from UK suppliers.
- *Inspection of Schools.* Although the local advisory service is expected to monitor the quality of teaching and learning, direct inspection of schools and colleges is performed by Her Majesty's

Inspectors under a contract with the UK government.

- *Higher Education.* In return for a block payment to the UK government, Jersey residents are given access to higher education in the UK as if they were UK residents.
- *Advisory Services.* Some specialist advisers are brought into the Island on a programmed basis under a contract with the East Sussex Local Education Authority.

3. Formal Organisation of the Education Department

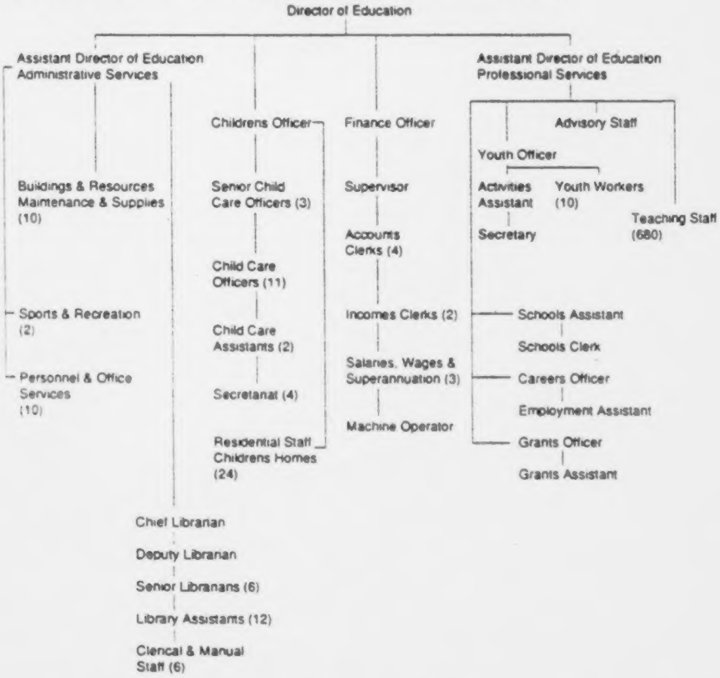
(a) The Organisation Chart

Figure 11.1 shows the Education Department's organisation chart. The structure was developed in the 1970s to give personnel at all levels the opportunity to use and develop their skills. Prior to 1974, decision-making was concentrated in two or three senior staff whose personal expertise was limited and who frequently ignored the experience and qualifications of subordinates. The intention of the structure was to devolve decision-making as far down the line as possible, and to give all officers the chance to bring their own skills and judgement to bear on the Department's tasks. Role definitions were intended to be flexible and to allow variation as required. The Civil Service does not compete very effectively with the local economy in offering employment to able people, and in the last decade restrictions on recruitment of qualified staff from outside the Island have been tightened. It is therefore necessary to develop the abilities that are available, and to deploy qualified staff to achieve the best results.

The organisation chart shows a distinction between Administrative and Professional Services, reflected in the titles of the two Assistant Directors. This is a direct outcome of an agreement to create two second-tier posts to support the Director. Part of the agreement was that the holder of one post would always have teaching qualifications and experience.

When this proposal was initiated it attracted some criticism from those who felt that the system was too small for a top-heavy bureaucracy. However, neither of the Assistant Directors was a deputy in the full sense. In the absence of the Director the Assistant Directors acted as a 'joint deputy'. A subsequent job evaluation did give greater salary and thus status to one Assistant Director, but the separation of administrative and professional matters has remained far from watertight. Officers lower down the hierarchy work as a team and seek advice and decisions from either Assistant Director as appropriate. The professional staff work readily with the Assistant Director (Administrative Services), and some non-professional staff are supervised and supported very effectively by the Assistant Director (Professional Services).

Figure 11.1: States of Jersey Education Department (1989)


Director of Education
Assistant Director of Education Administrative Services
Buildings & Resources Maintenance & Supplies (10)
Sports & Recreation (2)
Personnel & Office Services (10)
Childrens Officer
Senior Child Care Officers (3)
Child Care Officers (11)
Child Care Assistants (2)
Secretariat (4)
Residential Staff Childrens Homes (24)
Finance Officer
Supervisor
Accounts Clerks (4)
Incomes Clerks (2)
Salaries, Wages & Superannuation (3)
Machine Operator
Assistant Director of Education Professional Services
Advisory Staff
Youth Officer
Activities Assistant
Youth Workers (10)
Secretary
Teaching Staff (680)
Schools Assistant
Schools Clerk
Careers Officer
Employment Assistant
Grants Officer
Grants Assistant
Chief Librarian
Deputy Librarian
Senior Librarians (6)
Library Assistants (12)
Clerical & Manual Staff (6)

It will be noted from the chart that the Finance Officer reports immediately to the Director rather than through an Assistant Director. The Finance Officer is seen as almost equal in status to the Assistant Directors, and this structure gives him a degree of autonomy within the Department.

However, the rationale for the Children's Officer reporting immediately to the Director is slightly different. When this post was created, neither of the Assistant Directors had appropriate experience or knowledge of child welfare services. Because the Assistant Directors would have found it difficult to give the necessary support and supervision, and it was considered more desirable to place the Children's

Officer immediately under the Director. In this respect the organisation chart reflects the experiences and competences of the people holding particular posts at the time that the structure was drawn up.

The Department has no separate district officers, but wherever possible decision-making authority has been devolved upon schools. This has been partly successful in secondary education, though headteachers are reluctant to take responsibility for decisions which may have political consequences. Because of this reluctance, full devolution has been limited.

(b) Specialist and Generalist Posts

It is difficult to identify the distribution of staff among the different functions. Almost all senior management have some involvement in some or all education functions. For example the Finance Officer operates in all areas, and although Assistant Directors have specific responsibilities, as members of the Senior Management Team they have an input throughout the system.

Nevertheless, some functions do have specifically-designated posts. These include:

- Child Welfare	45 posts,
- Public Library	26 posts,
- Sports, Recreation & Leisure	2 posts,
- Vocational Guidance	3 posts, and
- Youth Service	13 posts.

The large numbers in child welfare and the library reflect the group of relatively low-grades staff in residential homes and the unqualified assistants in the library service. All are technically civil servants and part of the Education Department, but their roles are specific and limited. The Department has 101 posts altogether.

Almost all senior posts contain elements which lie outside the qualifications and experience of the postholders. This can create considerable problems. The only exceptions are the Youth Officer and the Chief Librarian and his deputy. Even these people have to report to superiors who may not fully understand their specialist concerns.

For example, the Assistant Director (Administrative Services) has responsibility for the Library Service and for Sports & Recreation. The post also carries responsibility for capital works and maintenance. On appointment, the current postholder had no qualifications or experience in these areas. Difficulties can arise when the judgements of specialists reporting to the postholder, such as the Chief Librarian or the Building Inspector, are called into question.

Likewise, in addition to work directly related to schools the Assistant Director (Professional Services) is responsible for Higher Education Grants and the Youth Service. The present incumbent is a teacher by training and experience. Since he has no direct knowledge of youth work, he is necessarily dependent on the Youth Officer's judgement.

In the main, these problems are solved effectively. Generalists normally defer to specialist judgement on those issues which are strictly specialist. However, success is heavily dependent on the strength of personal relationships between generalist and specialist staff. And if the generalists defer too much to specialist opinion, the specialists may be insufficiently challenged in their thinking and planning.

The posts of Chief Librarian and of the library staff have been able to remain specialist despite the demand on manpower. Partly this is due to the self-contained nature of the library service; but it also reflects reluctance on the part of the individuals to undertake other tasks.

The educational psychologist post has become more specialised in recent years because the demand for specialised services has increased. The postholder used also to manage Special Education services, but that responsibility has now been given to a part-time Adviser for Special Education who combines the post with the headship of a special school.

To date, serious underemployment of specialist postholders has arisen in only two cases, both in teaching advisory/support work. Originally the Department had an Adviser for Physical Education and an Adviser for Outdoor Education (sailing, climbing, etc.). When the latter retired, the Adviser for Physical Education took on responsibility for Outdoor Education in schools while the Youth Officer took over the management of outdoor centres. In the second case, a Senior Remedial Teacher's role changed because schools had appointed their own Special Needs Teachers. Following prolonged negotiation the teacher was redeployed as Manager of the Teachers' Centre. These redeployments helped the system to make the best use of its scarce resources.

4. Ministry Personnel

(a) Recruitment of Staff

The Education Department suffers from serious recruitment problems. The restrictions on immigration result in limited choice of candidates and lack of competition. Expatriates are regarded as a regrettable necessity, and are usually recruited only on three to five year contracts. These short contracts detract from commitment to the long-term interests of the community.

Personnel shortages are made worse by a high emigration rate. However, emigration is less serious than it was a decade ago. Greater numbers of qualified Jerseymen people remain in or return to the Island, and when they do so they can choose from job opportunities which, though limited in range, are numerous and generally well paid.

The shortage of local personnel has encouraged employment of people without full qualifications for particular jobs. There is a local belief that all Jerseymen can if necessary turn their hands to anything. This causes problems of quality, though of course the belief is helpful when people are asked to undertake tasks outside their experience and professed skills! The government does provide on-the-job training; but since the private sector can usually offer more attractive conditions, the public sector suffers from high staff turnover rates.

(b) Job Definition and Appraisal

In a small department, jobs should be defined sufficiently broadly to allow flexibility. Jersey now has a job evaluation scheme which is linked to pay and which depends on detailed and specific job descriptions. In some respects the new scheme is problematic, for it has reduced flexibility. The scheme also requires considerable time and effort which cannot easily be afforded in a small system.

The content of senior posts can only be defined in detail by the postholders. Because in a small system there is no way to check in detail on what people do, much must be taken on trust. This is especially true of specialist work, in which outsiders have to accept the postholders' decisions on activities and priorities.

A poor performer at any level can create considerable problems in a small organisation, and problems are especially serious when poor performers hold senior positions. Given the right attitudes and commitment of staff, however, vulnerability might be considered a price worth paying to enable the good performers to give their best.

Appraisal in small systems always presents special problems. It is vital to successful use of manpower, but working relationships often reflect the close social relationships of kinships in a small community. In the Jersey Education Department the solution has been to develop an appraisal system that centres upon self-appraisal and which is mainly directed to job satisfaction.

(c) Promotion and Morale

The emphasis on job satisfaction is especially necessary because promotion prospects within the Department are limited. This is particularly true for specialist officers. Generalists are in a better position because they can seek promotion in other Departments. One example is the former Assistant Director (Administrative Services), who came to Education from the Public Health Department, and who is now chief officer of the Tourism Department. Specialist staff are faced with the choice of accepting the limitations of the system, turning generalist (as intended by the Careers Officer), or seeking promotion outside the Island.

Recognising the lack of promotion opportunities, senior management counsel staff to see their careers in ways that both satisfy their personal ambitions and meet the needs of the system. They also encourage sideways transfers. The possibility of compulsory transfers has been discussed, but has proved unpopular.

Another strategy to reduce staleness is to offer staff periods of three or four months away from the job either to undertake research or development projects locally, or to follow a course of study or experience outside the Island. This offer, made after seven to ten years of service, has proved very effective among headteachers. However, the arrangements have not yet been extended to headquarters personnel.

5. International Linkages

(a) Formal and Informal Relationships

From the above comments it will be apparent that most of Jersey's external links are with the UK. Formal links are maintained with the UK Department of Home Affairs, and informal links exist with the Department of Education & Science. UK inspectors, and advisory staff from the East Sussex Local Education Authority, are contracted to visit the Island on a regular basis; and the National Curriculum Council is always willing to provide information about developments in the UK.

The Island suffers from the absence of a local university offering part-time in-service training courses. However, it has close contact with the Universities of Exeter and of Southampton, and with Portsmouth Polytechnic. Staff of these institutions come to Jersey, and local teachers go to the UK to study. B.Phil. and other degree courses are available for local teachers in the Islands and are validated by these institutions.

The most significant external bodies of which the Island education system can be described as a full member are the examining boards. The Southern Examining Group sponsors the General Certificate in Secondary Education (GCSE), and the Cambridge Examinations Board sets the 'A' level examination. These are the two major external examinations used by the system. Jersey teachers have played a considerable part in the development of the GCSE.

The Island also has links with other professional bodies in the UK. However, participation tends to be restricted to attendance of major conferences. Jersey is an Associate Member of the Council of Local Education Authorities, but derives little benefit from the organisation. Nevertheless individuals in the Department are members of various organisations, and are encouraged to attend professional meetings.

Jersey also has connections with the other off-shore British Islands which are not part of the UK, i.e. the other Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. These connections are based on the common relationship with the UK, and are especially important when there is a threat to the Islands' autonomy. Links with the Isle of Man are very loose, but the Director of the Education Department in Jersey has regular meetings with his counterpart in Guernsey.

Because the Island is just 22 kilometres off the French coast, many connections are also maintained with France. Reciprocal visits are made from time to time, and the Island's education department has a twinning arrangement with its counterpart in a town in Normandy. Schools and colleges are encouraged to make direct links with counterpart institutions in France, and a Jersey scholarship is maintained at the University of Caen.

Finally, the Jersey government maintains a small aid programme. Much of this aid has been channelled to other small islands. It has included education projects in Seychelles and Montserrat, for example.

(b) Absence of Individuals

International links cause individuals to be away from their desks from time to time. For example, they may:

- attend professional courses and conferences,
- visit UK schools and colleges to identify good practices or study new developments,
- attend meetings in the UK with government departments,
- monitor the progress of Jersey pupils in UK special education institutions,

- take part in the working groups of the examination boards, or
- undertake an attachment to another education system for further training and experience.

Except for the last category, the majority of these absences are for a week or two at most. The problems arise not from the lengths of these absences but from their frequency. Work always has to be done, and often in the specialist areas there is only one person to do it. People therefore know that if they go away, they will have to work even harder when they get back. After a time staff feel that the price of such absence is too high, and they begin to find excuses to avoid going 'off-Island'. Then senior management has to take a hand and rearrange work to ensure that the necessary visits and meetings are undertaken.

Reference has already been made to the development of team approaches to the work of the Department. This is especially important for senior management, who often themselves have to undertake the work of absent staff. In order to do this, they must acquire skills and understanding in areas of work outside their main expertise. This is perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of small education departments. Every small department or ministry has to develop the skills of staff so that there is some back-up to cover absences and periods of staff shortage through sickness and vacancies. Training of multi-skilled administrators is a basic necessity for survival, not a mere theoretical interest.

Maintenance of good records is another basic necessity. Certainly in Jersey the central filing system is a crucial part of the Department's operations. This is made abundantly clear when it fails, as sometimes happens in any human operation. Senior staff, including the Director, are required to circulate to colleagues copies of letters and documents before they are placed on file, so that all are aware of the current state of play in most of the Department's business.

6. The Culture of the Ministry

(a) Interpersonal Relationships

In a small organisation and society the closeness of interpersonal relationships has many advantages. Intimacy can contribute to excellent teamwork in which the strengths and weaknesses of individuals are well known, and in which 'playing to strengths' produces good results. Close relationships may also speed decision-making, and can generate trust and confidence.

Several examples may support these observations. The Youth Officer, the Director of Education and the Assistant Director have worked together over several years. When any two meet to discuss some aspect of youth service policy or practice, they can accurately forecast the views and reactions of the third. On a wider framework, the Senior Management Team know each other both in and out of the office. They share a common purpose, and they share each others' jokes. Difficult decisions can be taken with a degree of goodwill which would be missing in a larger organisation. Any member of the team opposed to the final decision is 'comforted' by colleagues, who go out of their way to make the decision easier to bear.

Further, when Education Department staff meet to consider any matter of policy or operation, they can dispense with the preliminary period of 'statement of positions' that is normally a major part of such meetings. This point is demonstrated whenever Department staff attend meetings with colleagues from other Departments and complain about how long it takes to reach a conclusion. They claim the faster processes of their own Department as a virtue, not recognising the contribution made by their own personal relationships in the Department.

However, close interpersonal relations may also have a negative side. First, innovation can be more difficult if it is 'known' that a particular person will be opposed to the new ideas. Second, differences of personality may produce conflicts which are not easy to resolve in a small organisation. Conflicts can consume energy and time which would otherwise be directed at the Department's objectives, and the loss is proportionately greater in a small Department. Also, an antagonistic relationship between two individuals may have consequences for the whole organisation.

In the previous paragraph the word 'known' was placed in inverted commas because perceptions are not always accurate. Once perceptions have formed, they may be very difficult to change. In this sense a good reputation can be as undeserved as a bad one. The onus is on senior management to be open-minded, and to maintain impartiality even under political pressure.

One example of the impact of reputations concerns an individual appointed in the mid-1980s who had a reputation for insensitivity and ruthlessness. Initially the staff reacted to the reputation rather than the real person. Eventually they slowly realised that the reputation was not deserved. The postholder showed great ability and capacity for work, and at the same time was sensitive to colleagues' feelings. But there is no doubt that the officer's effectiveness was reduced for more than a year.

(b) Personal Impact

Another feature of the culture of a small Department concerns the extent to which individuals can have a personal impact. This is especially true of specialist staff.

The careers office over the last 15 years presents a good example of this. There have been five Careers Officers during that time, and the quality and character of the service has been distinctively different under each one. The first was a local teacher without qualifications or experience who was appointed as a result of some political pressure. After a short and difficult tenure, he resigned and was replaced by an expatriate with high qualifications and long experience who had been running a large careers service in the UK. He was followed by another expatriate who had good qualifications but was much younger. This person was an innovator with great energy, but found the scale of the operation too small. During his tenure the Department's Grants Officer, a mature woman, trained as a careers officer. She followed the young expatriate in the post, but retired when her husband also retired. She was succeeded by a young Jerseyman who had been working as a Careers Officer in the UK. Under each individual, the nature of the careers service was markedly different.

The most 'anonymous' people in the Jersey Education Department are the accounts clerks, who receive and check all authorisations for payment from every cost centre. They rarely have direct contact with school clerks and teachers. Yet even they become known to staff of the establishments, who identify 'their' accounts clerks and seek personal assistance when necessary.

(c) Styles of Decision-Making

All significant policy decisions are made by the Education Committee, subject in some cases to the States and the President of the Committee. The latter, as the States member with responsibility for political leadership in all education matters, plays the most important role.

Each member of the Committee is responsible for a specific part of the services under the Committee's political control. In that role each member works closely with a senior member of the Department's staff.

In coming to any significant policy conclusion, the President must gain the support of Committee members. If a major policy issue has to go before the States, the President will by informal means try to ensure that there will be majority support before presenting it. Thus all political decisions rest on consensus, and the test of new proposals is their perceived level of political and public acceptability.

As the members of the States have no party affiliations, assessment of the acceptability of any policy change is made by the President and the members of the Committee on a personal basis, in every sense of that phrase. It is customary to involve the Director of Education in this process of assessing the acceptability of policy, and the Director in turn takes advice from the senior staff who work in close contact with individual members of the Committee. As the Head of the Department, the Director is personally responsible to the Committee for the implementation of policies.

In areas where the Committee has made no policy decisions, the Director is expected to act according to his judgement, which must include an assessment of political dimensions. Administrative decisions are made by members of the Department at all levels. Compared with larger education systems, administrative decisions which have considerable impact on the operation of the system are in Jersey taken at quite low levels.

Although constitutionally powers are delegated by the States to a Committee, the President is very powerful and influential. No policy is ever made or changed without the consent of the President, and many decisions in the political area are left to the President, subject to formal ratification at the next Committee meeting. One man held the office of President from 1969 to 1984. His predecessor was in office for 19 years. During these long periods, the personal beliefs and political philosophies of the two men were reflected in numerous ways throughout the Education Service.

(d) Information Flows

The flow of information is a problem in any organisation. The danger in a small system is that people will assume that it flows through informal channels, with the result that formal channels are left unused or even unformed. The practice in Jersey is based on the belief that the small size of the system creates an imperative need for as many staff as possible to know as much as possible about the business of their Department.

Staff meetings are held at least fortnightly with all section heads, including for example the head of the typing pool. At those meetings the Director, or in his absence one of the Assistant Directors, discusses developments in the work of the Department and policy or major administrative decisions taken since the previous meeting. Confidential limits are set as necessary, and section heads are expected to pass on all the information to the staff of their sections. The aim is not only to try to ensure that information is passed on, but also to give all staff a sense of the total business of the Department.

Formal systems exist for the passage of information. Standard instructions ensure that documents and letters are copied to appropriate section heads, and documents and letters (other than routine correspondence) dealing with current business are circulated among senior managers before filing. Also, of course, informal exchanges take place throughout the day when members meet for one reason or another or simply pass in the corridor. Yet despite all this there are occasions when important information does not pass to the right person. Technology may hold part of the answer; but in the end it all depends on people, who are fallible.

It is also useful here to comment on external information flow. While the absence of financial dependency enables the Department to be selective in dealing with external requests for information, those which are received from the European Community via the UK government have to be taken seriously. However, they generally call for a great deal of research and careful consideration, and they tend to be put to one side waiting for a quiet spell. In practice the quiet spell never comes, and when the officer concerned suddenly finds that a reply is urgently required the request has to take priority over everything else.

A vast amount of information comes into the Department. Most of it is 'skim read' and may be put to one side for closer attention or passed to the Teachers' Centre library in the hope that someone will find time to deal with it. This weight of information and the sense of guilt and inadequacy it produces has a considerable psychological effect upon the professional staff of the Department. There is an anxiety that somehow a vital piece of research or a report with considerable implications for local schools or teachers has been missed, and therefore that the system has suffered.

7. Conclusions

Constitutionally, Jersey's status is not dissimilar to that of such other UK dependencies as Montserrat and the Turks & Caicos Islands. However, geographic and cultural ties ensure a much closer relationship with the UK than is found in among the Caribbean or other dependencies. The Island does have an autonomous education system, but in practice follows many UK patterns. Influences operate through informal channels as much as formal ones, e.g. when Jerseymen study in the UK and when UK nationals are recruited for posts in Jersey.

Nevertheless Jersey has strong traditions, exemplified in its unique structure of government. These traditions give the organisation and management structures a distinct shape and flavour. The Jersey education system is certainly not a carbon copy of that in the UK. Nor is it exactly the same as that in such other dependencies as Guernsey and the Isle of Man.

At the same time, the chapter has highlighted features of Jersey's administrative system which have parallels in most other small states. Although in recent years the Island has become very prosperous, limits on immigration have constrained the extent to which the Education Department can recruit staff. The need to maximise use of scarce talents has been a major determinant of the organisation and management of the Education Department. The fact that Jersey is also a highly personalised society is reflected in much of the culture of the Education Department and has parallels in almost all other small states.

Chapter 12: Malta

Charles J. Farrugia & Paul A. Attard

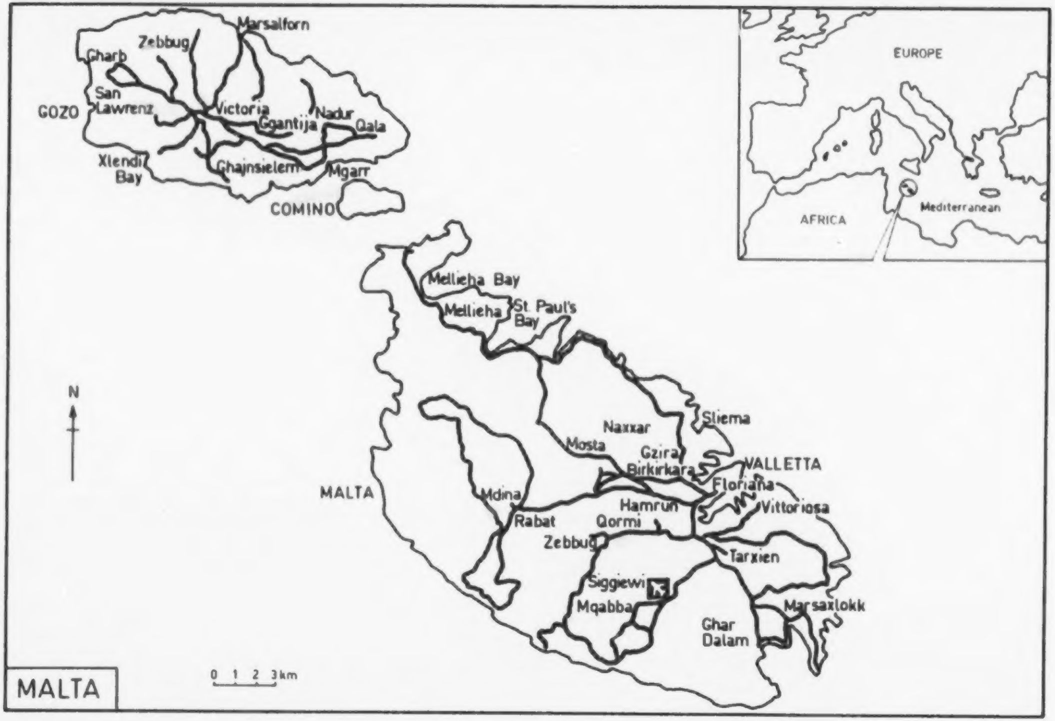
Population (1988): 345,000
Population Growth Rate (1980-88): 0.5% per annum
Land Area: 316 square kilometres
Capital: Valletta
GNP per Capita (1990): US$5,050
Year of Independence: 1964
Primary School Enrolment Rate (1990): 100%
Human Development Index (1987): 0.898

Malta has a long tradition in education. Historical evidence records the existence of a school financed by the state in the 14th century, while the origins of the University of Malta date back to the 16th century. Yet in spite of the early start, universal primary education did not become fully effective until the end of World War II, and universal secondary education 25 years later. The islands now enjoy an extensive system of education which spans a wide spectrum of academic provision and caters for most educational needs.

1. Background

The Republic of Malta comprises three islands, namely Malta itself, Gozo and Comino. The country is located in the Mediterranean Sea, 90 kilometres south of Italy and 290 kilometres north of the African mainland. About 94 per cent of the population lives on the island of Malta.

The local common language is Maltese, but English, which is the second official language, is spoken by most people. Maltese and English are taught as subjects in primary and secondary schools, and both languages are used as media of instruction in secondary schools and at


MALTA
GOZO
Marsalforn
Zebbug
Gharb
San Lawrenz
Victoria
Nadur
Ggantija
Qala
Xlendi Bay
Ghajnsielem
Mgarr
COMINO
EUROPE
AFRICA
Mediterranean
Mellieha Bay
Mellieha
St. Paul's Bay
Sliema
Naxxar
Mosta
Gzira
VALLETTA
Birkirkara
Floriana
MALTA
Mdina
Hamrun
Vittoriosa
Rabat
Qormi
Zebbug
Tarxien
Siggiewi
Mqabba
Marsaxlokk
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the University.

The strategic location of the islands, combined with the excellent harbour facilities, has had a strong influence on the history, culture and economy. Virtually all the dominant nations in the region have occupied Malta. The earliest known inhabitants were Stone Age farmers who came from Sicily some time before 4000 BC and whose temples are considered the earliest free-standing stone monuments in the world.

Malta became a British colony in 1814. Constitutions which gave the islands limited self-government, but which reserved defence, foreign affairs and other matters to the representative of the British Government, were in force in 1921-36, 1947-59 and 1962-64. In the intervening periods the representative of the British government exercised executive authority. During the Second World War Malta suffered severe aerial bombardment, and was awarded the George Cross in 1942 by the United Kingdom's King George VI. Malta gained full political independence in 1964. Since 1974 the country has been a Republic. Its political system operates as a genuine parliamentary democracy, with a neutral and non-aligned foreign policy. The islands have close economic ties with the European Community.

For centuries Malta survived economically as a mid-Mediterranean fortress providing services to military powers. Consequently, until the islands' political independence no major economic initiatives emerged to supplement the services offered to the military occupiers and to earn non-military foreign exchange. Following Independence, successive governments embarked on extensive economic diversification programmes. These include the creation of an export-oriented industrial sector particularly in textiles, engineering, and electronics. The economy has also developed specialisms in shipbuilding and repair, and in off-shore banking. Since Independence, tourism has emerged as the leading foreign currency earner, with some 800,000 tourists visiting the islands annually.

General economic expansion, coupled with redeployment of the islands' limited natural resources, has led to improved standards of living and high social expectations. The Maltese demand a good education system and a wide choice of education services at all levels. Education currently consumes about 9 per cent of the national budget.

2. The Education System

Until the mid-16th century, regular schooling was provided mainly by the Catholic church. In the late 19th century the Maltese authorities made a serious attempt to increase the literacy level and to lay the foundations for universal education. Legislation for compulsory school attendance was enacted in 1924. It was improved by the 1946 Education Act, which made schooling compulsory for all children aged 6 to 14. Secondary School for All was introduced in 1971. In 1974 education was made compulsory to the age of 16, and in 1988 compulsion was extended downwards to the age of five. The 1988 Education Act also recognised teaching as a profession, made provision for a national curriculum, laid the ground for a less centralised administrative system, and gave parents a stronger say about their children's education.

Malta enjoys healthy competition between state and private education, especially at the secondary level. About 28 per cent of the school population attend private schools, the majority of which are run by the Catholic church. Tuition in all state schools is free, and the government provides substantial financial aid to private schools. Students in state schools also enjoy loaned textbooks and free medicine, milk and dental care.

All post-secondary and university education is also free of charge to Maltese citizens. The State offers substantial incentives in the form of monthly stipends and vacation employment in government, parastatal enterprises and voluntary organisations. This provision aims to remove the financial burdens from those who might otherwise find it difficult to benefit from tertiary education.

After spending six years at primary school, children sit for the secondary schools admission examinations. Depending on their results, they then go either to the grammar-type Junior Lyceums or to less academically demanding Area Schools. After two years of secondary education, students may follow a craft-level course in a trade school or continue with academic courses. At the end of the fifth year of secondary education, students sit for the Ordinary Level of the Matriculation examination set by the University of Malta and/or the General Certificate of Education (GCE) examinations set by British examination boards. Those in the technical sector sit for the City & Guilds of London Institute examinations.

The attainment of six Ordinary level subjects allows students to spend the next two years in post-secondary education. At the end of this, students sit for the Advanced Level of the Malta Matriculation or GCE (United Kingdom). Those who follow a post-secondary course in a Technical Institute sit for Higher Craft, Technician or Diploma Level Examinations set by the London-based City & Guilds.

The origins of the University of Malta go back to 1592 when, a few years after the erection of the city of Valletta, the Grand Master of the time requested the Jesuits to open a Collegium Melitensis. A new campus was opened in 1964. However, the old site in Valletta still provides academic services through the Foundation for International Studies, a branch of the University. At present the University has 10 Faculties, namely Theology, Medicine, Law, Dentistry, Architecture, Engineering, Education, Arts, Science, and Management Studies. The University also has several Institutes which concentrate on specific areas of study. It offers undergraduate, post-graduate and doctoral programmes to 2,500 full-time and 400 part-time students.

3. The Ministry of Education

The Malta constitution empowers the President of the Republic, acting in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister, to assign to the latter and other ministers the responsibility for government departments. Ministers direct and control the department or departments attached to their ministries. The day-to-day administration of a ministry is supervised by a permanent secretary, who acts under the direction of the minister but who generally operates with some discretion and independence. Individual departments have their own heads, though the head of the Department of Education is called a Director. The permanent secretaries and department heads are appointed from among senior public officers by the Prime Minister following consultations with the Public Service Commission. They are non-political posts within the Maltese Civil Service.

In 1990 the Education portfolio was combined with that of the Interior to form a Ministry of Education & the Interior. However, this section of the chapter refers to the Ministry of Education as it existed before the change.

(a) Structure

Table 12.1 shows the main component parts of the Ministry before the 1990 change. It will be seen that it had four Departments covering Education, Culture & Environment, Museums, and Libraries. It also had separate Administration Divisions responsible for examinations, transport, maintenance & repair, and minor staff. Also affiliated to the Ministry were the University of Malta, the Foundation for International Studies, Broadcasting, the National Theatre, and the National Orchestra.

The fact that the Examinations, Transport, Maintenance & Repair, and Minor Staff sections are separate Administrative Divisions rather than part of the Departments deserves some comment. In a small state where practically everyone knows everyone else or their friends, the

Table 12.1: Component Parts of the Ministry of Education, Malta

- Minister
  - Private Secretariat to the Minister

- Permanent Secretary

- Administration Divisions
  - Examinations
  - Transport
  - Maintenance & Repair
  - Minor Staff

- Department of Education
  - Kindergartens
  - Primary Education
  - Special Education
  - Secondary Education
  - Technical & Trade Education
  - Post-Secondary Education
  - Adult Education

- Department of Culture & Environment
  - Culture
  - Sport
  - Environment
  - Youth

- Department of Museums
  - Museums
  - Antiquities
  - Restoration

- Libraries Department
  - National Library
  - Public Records Office
  - Lending Library

- University of Malta
- Foundation for International Studies
- Broadcasting
- National Theatre
- National Orchestra

government wanted to ensure that all examinations for recruitment set by the government and parastatal organisations were absolutely fair and free from abuse. It seemed easiest to do this when examinations were administered by a separate unit. Strict regulations are in force to ensure that examiners are free from undue pressure in the preparation and marking of papers, and that results reflect only the level of attainment reached by the candidates. The Examinations Branch caters also for post secondary examinations run by external boards. On the other hand, a Test Construction Unit within the Department of Education runs examinations for schools on a national level (e.g. annual examinations in primary and secondary schools). This ensures that papers are professionally prepared, and that national standards are set and kept.

The Transport Section within the ministry caters for transport required by employees in all departments. Transport of students to school, especially at secondary and special school level, is administered by a separate section, also within the ministry. Agreement for bus transport is negotiated by the ministry with the union and association concerned.

Maintenance & repair and minor staff are also administered through central units for all departments. This seems to make sense in a small ministry, but there are common complaints that personnel are administered according to the priorities of the ministry rather than the institutions. There is some pressure to allocate funds to institutions to allow them to deal themselves with maintenance and minor repair.

The relative weight of the component parts of the ministry is partly reflected in the budget. Figures for 1990 are shown in Table 12.2. It will be seen that the Department of Education was allocated by far the largest part, representing 72.6 per cent of the total. The component which served all departments, i.e. the Minister's and Permanent Secretary's Offices and the Administration Division, was allocated 14.5 per cent.

Table 12.2: Budget Estimates for Ministry of Education, Malta, 1990 (%)

Section/Department	Recurrent	Capital	Total
Minister's & Permanent Secretary's Offices, & Administration Divisions	17.2	-	14.5
Education	76.5	51.2	72.6
Culture, Environment, Sports, Youth & Broadcasting	3.3	47.0	10.1
Museums	1.9	1.7	1.9
Libraries & Archives	1.0	-	0.8

(b) Functioning

The policy of the Ministry of Education is implemented through a fine balance of power operated by three main groups. These are the Minister's liaison officers, the officials in the general civil service, and the professional educators. In various ways the three groups work in close cooperation. In other ways they operate independently and occasionally in competition.

The liaison officers in the office of the Minister mainly have a political role. They do not have permanent appointments, and are chosen on a personal basis by the Minister to liaise both with the various sectors of the Ministry and with other Ministries. Their main function is to advise the Minister. They monitor the implementation of policy decisions in the various sectors and at different levels. They are expected to keep in touch with the general public, providing information and gathering feedback about the effectiveness of government policy.

The Permanent Secretary and his staff are generalists. The role of the Permanent Secretary is to supervise the general administration and to ensure that the Ministry's policies are carried out. He ensures that the various departments within the Ministry liaise with each other, and that cooperation with other Ministries is maintained. According to established practice, the generalist civil servants avoid interfering with the actual day-to-day running and work of the departments as long as these operate within the parameters established by Ministerial policy.

The senior generalist civil servants wield considerable power because they work closely with the Minister. Since they move from one department to another, and from one ministry to another, they are also very knowledgeable about civil service procedures. In the small, closely-knit service, they develop extensive personal contacts which provide them with strong, if unobtrusive, power and influence.

The professional civil servants form the largest group. They perform specialised work according to the nature of their particular departments. Examples include the teachers in the Department of Education, curators in the Museums Department, and librarians in the Public Libraries. Unlike their counterparts in the general civil service, the professional civil servants work in closed departments and rarely transfer to others.

Generally, the three groups work in harmony and mutual support. Occasionally there is friction, especially when one group feels that there is undue interference, pressure or restriction from another. Here, the 'small scale factor' of a micro-state plays an important part. Personal contacts or the quick intervention of a more senior official -- sometimes the Minister himself -- may lead to a speedy solution or at least to shelving of the problem. Effective communication is also facilitated by the fact that the small group of senior personnel work in close proximity and are therefore able to arrange quick *ad hoc* meetings. However, experience has shown that physical proximity does not always guarantee effective communication. Conscious human effort is also required.

The present Minister of Education meets with the Permanent Secretary and the Heads of Department on a regular, formal basis. Meetings sometimes take the form of working seminars. Section heads also hold frequent informal meetings, which provide useful occasions for individuals to exchange views, seek support, coordinate work, review action and develop policy. Other meetings are regularly scheduled to seek solutions to such issues as the need to pool and share the limited personnel and facilities of the different departments in the ministry. This communication style becomes very useful in the small administrative set-up of the Maltese civil service, and reinforces the close communication links that are maintained both vertically and horizontally.

The building housing the Ministry of Education accommodates the Ministry, the Department of Education, the Department of Culture & the Environment and the central stores and workshops. The physical features, in contrast to other buildings housing ministries and departments, are modern and fairly pleasant to work in, and encourage easy communication. The atmosphere is enhanced by the informality usually prevalent within the various departments and, to a certain extent, within the Ministry itself. This closeness tends to encourage friendliness and a sense of comradeship, especially in shared difficult projects. Occasionally, however, the close working and personal relationships can breed familiarity and complacency. Also, personal rivalry can extend from individuals to sectors within the departments, so that many officials in Malta envy the impersonality and formality that exist in larger systems where it is easier for officialdom to be faceless.

(c) Territorial Decentralisation

Gozo is an integral part of the national education system, and is catered for in the national budget for education. All rules, regulations and procedures apply to both islands. However, there is a separate Ministry for Gozo Affairs which monitors, facilitates and initiates projects of all types. Gozo also has a resident Education Officer, who is the leading representative of the Department of Education on the island. One must bear in mind that the population of Gozo is about 25,000, equivalent to the population of the largest town in Malta. Since there are several schools for the different small villages on the island, class sizes are generally smaller in Gozo than in Malta. The Gozitans insist that they should have all the facilities existing in the larger island.

Table 12.3: Personnel of the Ministry of Education (excluding Departments), Malta, 1990

Title	Number
Secretary	1
Head II	1
Head I	1
Professional Officer III	1
Assistant Head	1
Professional Officer II	1
Assistant Head - Registrar of Examinations	1
Professional Officer I	1
Administrative Officer	7
Systems Analyst	1
Public Relations Officer	1
Technical Officer III	1
Administrative Assistant	9
Executive Officer	8
Library Officer I	1
Works Technical Officer	1
Officer-in-Charge Minor Staff	1
Assistant Works Technical Officer	7
Data Entry Officer	1
Messenger III	1
Clerk	26
Group D (Skilled Workers)	74
Messenger II	3
Group C (Skilled Workers)	42
Group B (Semi-skilled Workers)	13
Messenger I	2
Group A	32
TOTAL	238

Note: The personnel have been ranked according to salary scale.

(d) Personnel Numbers

Table 12.3 shows the numbers of personnel in the Ministry of Education. At 238, the total number may seem large for a small state. However, it must be recalled that the ministry must cater for all the different branches associated with larger ministries in larger countries. Liaison officers are not included on the list, but their number is small.

Personnel in Groups A, B, C and D include skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, most of whom form part of the Maintenance & Repair section of the Ministry and carry out work at system and institution levels. One may argue that their number is not large enough to satisfy all requirements.

4. The Department of Education

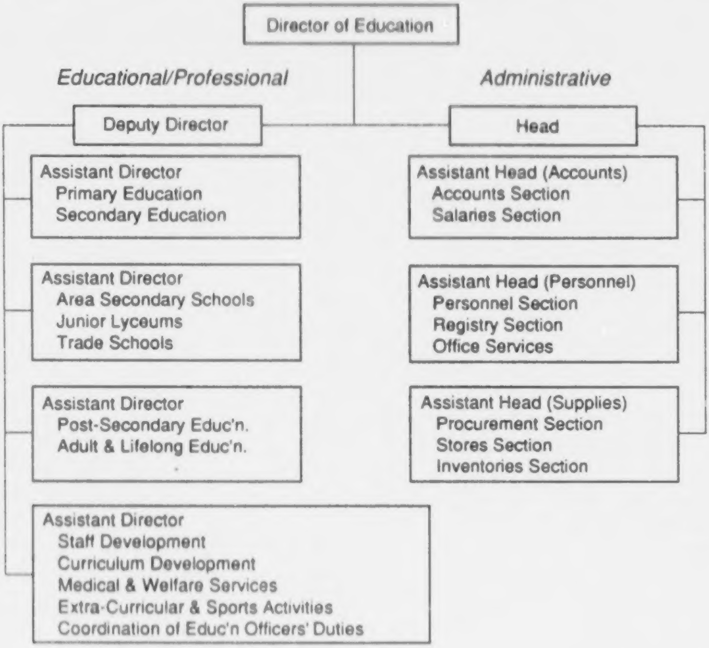
(a) Functions and Structure

The Department of Education employs nearly 80 per cent of the Ministry's total workforce. Despite recent attempts at decentralisation, the education system is still highly centralised. The Department of Education employs all teaching and related personnel in the state education system. Head Office posts staff to the various educational institutions, and school heads have little or no say in the choice. The Department sets national curricula, and provides teaching materials, equipment and buildings for all formal and non-formal public education. According to law, the Department of Education also has jurisdiction over private schools. However, in reality the private schools regulate their own academic and organisational affairs.

The structure of the Department is shown in Figure 12.1. At the apex is the Director, below whom are separate branches for educational/professional affairs and for administrative matters.

A recent reorganisation agreement gave the Director one of the highest ranks in the civil service. He is responsible to the Minister for the overall academic and administrative management of his department. On the educational/professional side he is helped by a Deputy Director and four Assistant Directors; and on the administrative side he is helped by a Head and three Assistant Heads.

Figure 12.1: Structure of the Department of Education, Malta


Director of Education
Educational/Professional
Administrative
Deputy Director
Head
Assistant Director
Primary Education
Secondary Education
Assistant Director
Area Secondary Schools
Junior Lyceums
Trade Schools
Assistant Director
Post-Secondary Educ'n.
Adult & Lifelong Educ'n.
Assistant Director
Staff Development
Curriculum Development
Medical & Welfare Services
Extra-Curricular & Sports Activities
Coordination of Educ'n Officers' Duties
Assistant Head (Accounts)
Accounts Section
Salaries Section
Assistant Head (Personnel)
Personnel Section
Registry Section
Office Services
Assistant Head (Supplies)
Procurement Section
Stores Section
Inventories Section

(b) The Educational/Professional Branch

(i) Responsibilities

The educational/professional branch of the Department provides the teaching service and the educational administration of schools at the various levels and in its specialised units. The Department generally regulates curriculum development through its Education Officers, who are also responsible for supervising the teaching of specified subject areas or of general instruction in the sectors allocated to them.

Curriculum committees made up of Education Officers, school heads, classroom teachers and occasionally lecturers from the Faculty of Education select or commission textbooks, order instructional materials, and advise on pedagogical approaches. At the same time, teachers in schools are encouraged to develop their own instructional strategies as long as these conform with the general guidelines of the minimum national curriculum requirements. Specialised curriculum research and development is often undertaken by lecturers from the Faculty of Education working in close collaboration with Education Officers and teaching personnel.

The educational/professional branch is also responsible for academic standards. Apart from the monitoring by Education Officers, this is carried out through a system of nationally-based examinations that guide students from the primary to the secondary level of education.

(ii) Personnel

Table 12.4 indicates the numbers of personnel in the Professional/ Education Branch of the Department of Education. As might be expected, teachers comprise by far the largest group. Most of them are fully qualified, having followed professional courses at college or university level. Instructors form the second largest group. They are generally qualified to teach in Trade Schools, but some, including part-time and casual instructors, teach in other schools when the required teachers are not available. Instructor and kindergarten assistant grades are generally classified I, II and III according to agreements between the government and trade unions, mostly on the basis of qualifications and years of service.

Table 12.4 does not include Heads of Departments (of subjects) in schools. Previously, Heads of Departments had the rank of Assistant Head (Administration) and Assistant Head (Counsellor). Now they are ranked as teachers, but have reduced teaching loads.

Principal Education Officers are based in Head Office and assist the Deputy Director and the Assistant Directors. The Education Officers, who work under the direction of the Assistant Directors of Education responsible for their sectors, constitute the main source of communication and liaison with the schools.

The role of Education Officers has evolved considerably during the last 15 years. The 1974 education reforms brought about a significant change in the role of these officials who until then were known as Inspectors of School. They inspected, evaluated and reported on school management, administration and class teaching. They had both authority and power, but their relationship with teaching personnel was often ambiguous. Some were highly respected, but others were feared.

Table 12.4: Personnel of the Professional/Education Branch, Department of Education, Malta, 1990

Title	Number
Director of Education	1
Deputy Director of Education	1
Assistant Director	4
Principal Education Officer	8
Education Officer	33
Head of School	129
Education Assistant (to Education Officer)	50
Assistant Head of School	170
Head of Trade School	17
Teacher	2,720
Assistant Head of Trade School	19
Instructor III	178
Kindergarten Assistant III	14
Instructor II	178
Instructor I	89
Kindergarten Assistant II	60
Kindergarten Assistant I	223
Part-time/Casual Instructor	423

Note: The personnel have been ranked according to salary scale.

The role of Education Officers today is essentially that of counsellors, facilitators and animators. Normally, they are specialists in such subjects as English or History or in an area of education such as primary or special education. Although they are expected to 'inspect' both schools and classes and to report on both the schools' managerial style and the teachers' abilities, their relationship with teachers and schools is now more advisory, professional and relaxed. Some Education Officers complain that, lacking the previous power, their role has become less effective.

Education Officers in the Maltese education system are expected to act as leading professionals, specialists and administrators. They insist that this is an impossible multi-functional role, especially as they tend to be overloaded with a multitude of tasks, many of which can be performed by junior functionaries. Their realm includes curriculum development, teaching methods, selection of textbooks, extra-curricular activities, the use of apparatus, the utilisation of facilities, and general trouble-shooting and problem-solving.

The new posts of Principal Education Officer appointed from among the most senior Education Officers and Heads of Schools are meant to support the Deputy Director and Assistant Directors of Education by shouldering some of their responsibilities. The posts of Education Assistant are also new. The 50 specialist personnel selected from among teachers should ease the multi-functional burdens of Education Officers, allowing them to make a greater contribution towards the formulation and implementation of policy, and freeing them from daily routines that can easily be carried out by subordinates. At the same time, the subordinates are in training for the higher posts.

Education Officers are regarded as essential links between the schools and Head Office, disseminating official policy and carrying feedback to the central administration. They have regular meetings with the Assistant Directors of Education, the Director of Education and the Minister. Besides formal meetings, informal encounters are regular and frequent in the small education system since the offices of the personnel concerned are always within easy reach.

(b) The Administrative Branch

(i) Structure and Functions

The Administrative Branch operates through three main sections. They are the Personnel Section, the Accounts Section and the Supplies Section.

The Personnel Section has responsibility for the machinery of recruitment and promotions, and the keeping of personnel records, leave entitlements, etc.. When recruitment and promotion are concerned, the Department (in common with all government Departments) has no say in the recruitment of the 'general service' staff who man the administrative sectors. Such functions are provided centrally by the Establishment Division of the Office of the Prime Minister. Promotions depend on available vacancies and on agreements with the relevant union. Promotions to vacant posts take place either after a call for applications from eligible grades or, less frequently, by means of a direct recommendation based on efficiency and seniority. The Public Service Commission and the Office of the Prime Minister have to be satisfied that the adopted procedures are correct and the awards are justified. The Personnel Section also has responsibility for scholarships and bursaries. Awards are coordinated either by the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, depending on their type.

There are strict procedures regarding the discipline of personnel. Any charge that warrants disciplinary action has to be made in writing, and, depending on the gravity of the case, the accused official must be given enough time and facilities to exculpate himself. The Secretary General at the Office of the Prime Minister decides whether the Director of Education or the Public Service Commission should deal with the matter, again depending on the nature and gravity of the case.

In a small state in which people all know each other or are friends of friends, claims of discrimination and favouritism are made from time to time. Hence, strict disciplinary and promotion procedures are laid down which are intended to make the system more acceptable and fair. In fact, superiors at all levels and institutions sometimes claim that it is difficult for them to impose the desired discipline at their place of work because of the disciplinary procedures involved.

On the other hand, subordinates sometimes believe that they have been transferred for disciplinary reasons rather than because of the "exigencies of the service" as they are officially informed. On the whole, though, discipline is relaxed -- too relaxed, some may argue, because nobody wants to hurt anybody else.

All records of employees are kept by the Records Division of the Personnel Section. These cover personal details of the career paths of all personnel in the Department, including promotions, resignations and any disciplinary action. The Division is responsible for keeping up to date the staff list at system level and for providing the relevant information on which the seniority level of employees is determined.

The Leaves Division keeps records of sick, vacation, unpaid, emigration, vocational, maternity, bereavement, marriage, duty and birth-of-a-child leave. This Division caters also for the procedures required to appoint medical and injury boards where required by regulations.

One or more senior officials, known as Treasury Accounting Officers, are attached to the Department of Education while at the same time being directly responsible to the Ministry of Finance. These officers regulate spending and ensure that the financial aspects of the administration of education follow the Constitution and the relevant regulations on public funds. This section is responsible for preparing yearly budgets on the basis of information provided by the Department of Education. The Accounts Section has to make projections and keep records of accounts of all the Department's expenditure and revenue.

The final section to be mentioned is responsible for supplies. Wherever possible, the three main functions of this section, i.e. procurement, stock control and inventory-keeping, are kept separate. This enhances control and check against abuses.

Table 12.5: Personnel of the Administrative Branch, Department of Education, Malta, 1990

Title	Number
Works Manager II	2
Professional Officer I	6
Professional Medical Officer I	1
Assistant Principal Welfare Officer	1
Technical Officer III	2
Administrative Officer	17
Officer-in-Charge Sheltered Workshops	1
Welfare Officer III	1
Technical Officer II	1
Administrative Assistant	24
Technical Officer I	4
Pharmacist/Analyst	1
Welfare Officer II	3
Executive Officer	49
Library Officer I	7
Works Technical Officer	10
Technician II	17
Agricultural Officer I	2
Assistant Works Technical Officer	10
Chargehand	16
Leading Gardener	4
Messenger III	5
Clerk	148
Youth Service Assistant	3
Group D Tradesmen	204
Technician I	65
Messenger II	27
Group C Tradesmen	106
Group B Tradesmen	75
Messenger 1	31
Group A (Labourers)	587

Note: The personnel have been ranked according to salary scale.

Work in the administrative branch is not easy. Officials not only have to be multi-functional with all the difficulties and complications that this entails, but have to cater also for varying and sometimes conflicting requirements. The schools may demand quick action, but the regulations of the civil service place greater emphasis on procedure. These demands and conflicting loyalties result in a significant level of misunderstanding and mistrust between the 'educational' sector and the 'administrative' branch. The difficulties are compounded when the 'educationalists' are unfamiliar with civil service procedures, and the 'administrators' do not fully understand the pressing problems in the schools. Some officials, including senior ones from both branches, have developed close working relationships with positive results. It would greatly benefit the Maltese education system if this trend were to spread further and faster.

(ii) Personnel Numbers

Table 12.5 shows numbers of personnel in the Administrative Branch of the Department of Education. It includes personnel working at the Head Office of the Department of Education and in all the education institutions in Malta and Gozo. The large number of labourers includes caretakers of schools.

5. General Observations

In spite of its limited material and human resources, the Maltese education system offers an education service that in range and quality compares well with that of bigger and richer countries. The quality of the service is a credit to the people who work in it, both as professional educators and as administrative and support staff.

Officials in the two branches of the service and the community at large will readily admit, however, that there is ample space for improvement, particularly in the liaison between the professional/education branch and the administrative branch, as well as between Head Office and schools. There is enough evidence to show that necessary action, sometimes urgent action, is not taken owing to either unnecessary red-tape, or misunderstandings or lack of appreciation about the urgency of the matter, or occasionally owing to personal pique.

One readily acknowledges that the limitations of a small developing state place heavy strains on its whole administrative organisation, especially when its expanding economy and social services demand ever-increasing attention to multiple and complex issues. For example, officials are expected to be multi-functional, to shoulder various tasks that in larger states are carried out by several officials with the necessary support staff. Moreover Malta and Gozo are so small in area and population, and people and institutions are so near to each other, that local and national matters easily overlap. Yet within the next few years, local councils will be set up and, very probably, certain facilities and needs of education institutions will be administered by local councils.

Administrative demands are not lessened by longstanding attitudes and practices that are more attuned to a past, colonial administration rather than a young developing country. The prevailing civil service tendency to go strictly by the book and to play safe can be most frustrating, especially when the success of new ventures and development projects depends on new thinking, innovative approaches and an entrepreneurial mentality.

When communications are clear, personal relations healthy, and the importance of action appreciated, officials at all levels rise to the occasion and cooperate to find a quick and lasting solution. The personal and social dimensions of a small civil service in a small country play a most prominent role in the way individuals perform, some most conscientiously and efficiently. The phenomenon is very present in the educational service where, in spite of the limitations, the achievements are many and to the credit of a number of extraordinary individuals who have dedicated their lives to the service.

One must neither ignore nor minimise the difficulties under which the Maltese civil service operates. The Maltese educational system, like the larger body to which it belongs, is influenced by factors that condition its work and approach to most issues. Among these factors, which exert both positive and negative influences, one finds the colonial inheritance, the limitations of resources, the close personal relationships of the inhabitants of a micro-state, and increased social expectations.

Part V: South Pacific

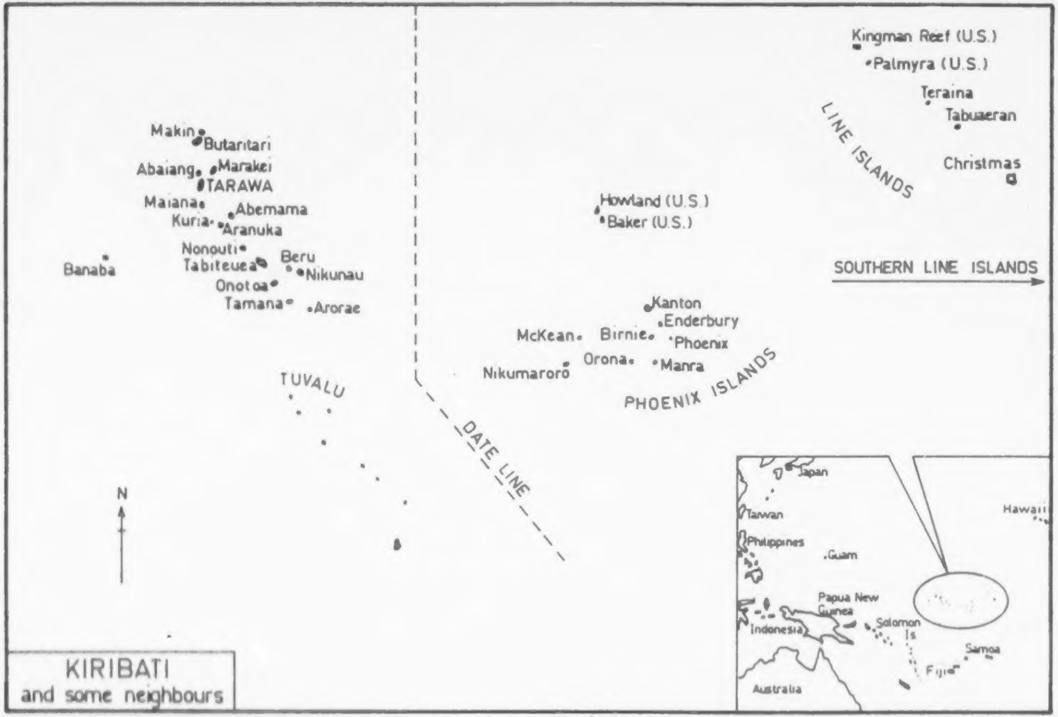
Chapter 13: Kiribati

Meita Beiabure Bakeea

Population (1988): 67,000
Population Growth Rate (1980-88): 1.9% per annum
Land Area: 710 square kilometres
Capital: Tarawa
GNP per Capita (1988): US$650
Year of Independence: 1979
Primary School Enrolment Rate (1989): 84%

Kiribati comprises 33 islands, located in the Central Pacific Ocean and straddling the equator and the international date line. It is subdivided into three main groups: (a) the Gilberts Group, a chain of 17 atolls which includes Tarawa, the seat of Government; (b) the Phoenix Group, a cluster of eight atolls; and (c) the Line Group, a chain of eight atolls spread over 2,000 kilometres and located some 3,000 kilometres east of the Gilberts on the other side of the international date line. The Line Islands include Kiritimati (otherwise known as Christmas Island) which accounts for half the country's land area.

With the exception of Banaba (otherwise known as Ocean Island) which is an upraised atoll, all the islands are low-lying coral atolls few of which are more than five metres above sea level. Kiritimati in the east is 3,870 kilometres from Banaba in the west; and Teraina in the north is 2,050 kilometres from Vostok Island in the south. The three exclusive economic zones cover more than three million square kilometres of ocean. However, the total land area of the islands is only 810 square kilometres.


KIRIBATI
and some neighbours
Makin
Butaritari
Abaiang
Marakei
TARAWA
Maiana
Abemama
Kuria
Aranuka
Nonouti
Tabiteuea
Beru
Nikunau
Banaba
Onotoa
Tamana
Arorae
TUVALU
N
DATE LINE
Howland (U.S.)
Baker (U.S.)
Kanton
Enderbury
McKean
Birnie
Phoenix
Orona
Manra
Nikumaroro
PHOENIX ISLANDS
Kingman Reef (U.S.)
Palmyra (U.S.)
Teraina
Tabuaeran
LINE ISLANDS
Christmas
SOUTHERN LINE ISLANDS
Japan
Taiwan
Philippines
Guam
Hawaii
Papua New Guinea
Indonesia
Solomon Is
Samoa
Fiji
Australia

1. Politics, Economics and Society

Kiribati gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1979. Prior to that it had been ruled jointly with the Ellice Islands as the Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony. The Ellice Islands broke away in 1975, and are now the independent state of Tuvalu.

The constitution provides for a single tier of government headed by an Executive President known as the Beretitenti. The Beretitenti is elected by universal suffrage from among candidates selected by the Maneaba ni Maungatabu (Parliament). The Beretitenti in turn appoints a cabinet with executive authority. The single chamber of legislature has 39 elected members, plus the Attorney-General and a member nominated by the Banaba community. The central government is located on South Tarawa. The number of ministries is limited by the constitution to 10 plus the Office of the President.

The country also has a local government administration, consisting of 17 island councils and two town councils. The Councils have elected representatives, and are responsible for local administration, construction and maintenance of roads, and other local activities. Geographical isolation, lack of effective communications and lack of skilled staff have at times reduced the effectiveness of these Councils.

The coral reefs offer very limited resource bases for development. The northern Gilberts and the Line Islands have a maritime equatorial climate with frequent rainfall. However, drought conditions lasting up to three years have been experienced on most other islands. Agricultural production is severely limited by the atoll environment. The combination of a thin and porous layer of top soil, a high level of salinity, and lack of surface water restricts flora and fauna to those adapted to these rigorous conditions.

Until the 1970s, significant phosphate deposits were exploited on Banaba and contributed significantly to the economy. However, phosphate mining ceased in 1979 and brought a period of economic adjustment. The country has no other known viable and immediately exploitable mineral resources.

The majority of the population is Micronesian. Over the years mixing with Chinese, Europeans and Polynesians, particularly from Tuvalu, has taken place. The 1985 census recorded a de facto population of 63,883 with 2,227 I-Kiribati known to be working overseas in Nauru, aboard vessels of the South Pacific Marine Services or studying overseas. The population distribution is skewed towards the Gilberts, and South Tarawa in particular. The latter had a 1985 population of 21,393.

2. Education

Prior to the Second World War, government activity in education was confined to a boarding school for boys at Tarawa and to a primary day school on Banaba. Most education was in the hands of Christian missions.

The immediate post-war period brought growth of government responsibility and participation. In 1948 a system of grants-in-aid was introduced as a practical measure of cooperation with the missions. At this time a small Department of Education was established on Tarawa.

A Ministerial system of government was established in 1974. The Ministry of Education now consists of central administration, primary education, secondary education, teacher training, technical training, library and archives. This chapter focuses mainly on the central administration sector.

Education consumes about 18 per cent of the total government recurrent budget. Finance is shared between the sectors as follows:

Central Administration	19%
Primary Education	50%
Secondary Education	16%
Teacher Training	7%
Technical Training	5%
Library & Archives	3%

The government places priority on the promotion and development of formal education, particularly the provision of primary education for all children of school age.

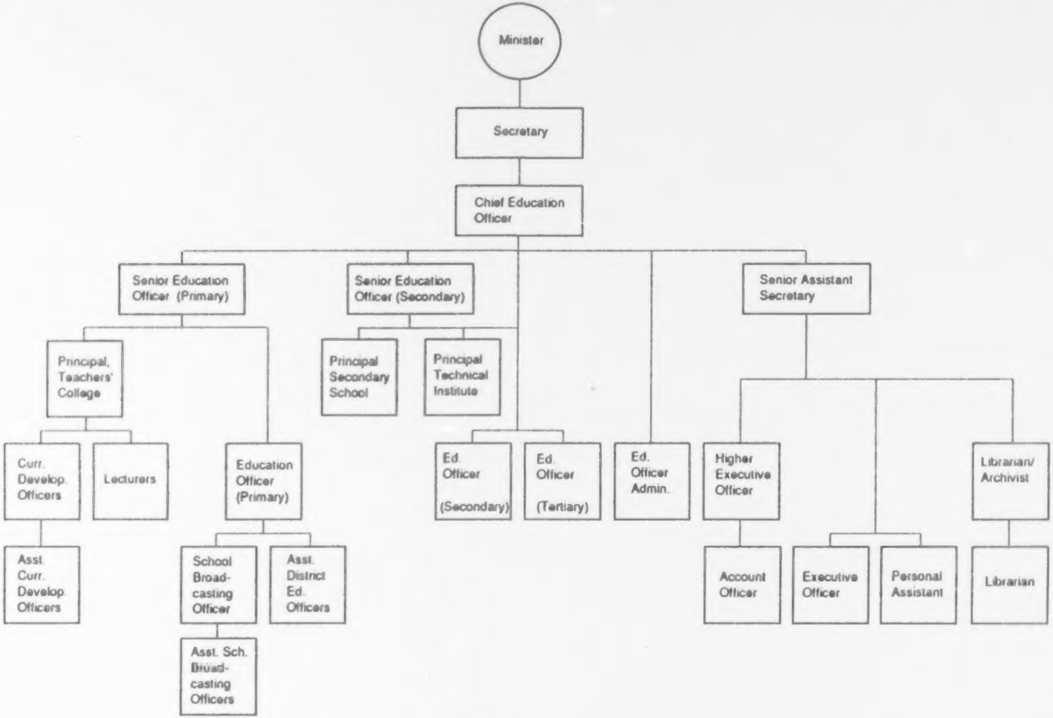
3. The Ministry of Education

The organisation chart of the Ministry of Education is shown in Figure 13.1. It was adopted in 1987.

The Secretary for Education is normally appointed from amongst Senior Assistant Secretaries in the administration cadre by straight recommendation of the Secretary to the Cabinet, who is head of the Public Service. The Public Service Commission (PSC) checks and confirms the recommendation before it is announced by the Beretitenti. Appointment to the Senior Assistant Secretary and Deputy Secretary posts is done similarly.

Appointment to the other posts is normally through an interview system. In theory, all senior posts are open to applicants from below.

Figure 13.1: The Ministry of Education, Kiribati (1990)


Minister
Secretary
Chief Education Officer
Senior Education Officer (Primary)
Senior Education Officer (Secondary)
Senior Assistant Secretary
Principal, Teachers' College
Principal Secondary School
Principal Technical Institute
Curr. Develop. Officers
Lecturers
Education Officer (Primary)
Ed. Officer (Secondary)
Ed. Officer (Tertiary)
Ed. Officer Admin.
Higher Executive Officer
Librarian/ Archivist
Asst. Curr. Develop. Officers
School Broad-casting Officer
Asst. District Ed. Officers
Account Officer
Executive Officer
Personal Assistant
Librarian
Asst. Sch. Broad-casting Officers

However, an application from the Senior Assistant Secretary (SAS) to become Chief Education Officer (CEO) would be unlikely to be successful because the SAS is an administrator rather than a professional.

The post of CEO was created for the promotion of the Senior Education Officer (Planning), who used to be in the same line with the other two Senior Education Officers and the SAS. Although selection was done through the interview system, the SEO (Planning) was the only candidate and the objective of creating the post was easily met. The main reason for creating a CEO post and earmarking the SEO (Planning) to it was to ease planning responsibilities. It was very difficult before for the SEO (Planning) to seek the cooperation of the other senior officers, particularly in the task of data collection and plan implementation. Now the CEO, who is also the head of the planning unit, has authority which is respected and can be refused only by the Secretary and the Minister. Planning since then has been carried out smoothly. The planning unit is currently staffed by the CEO and the Education Officer (Administration) who conducts research and prepares statistics.

The SEO (Primary) had been a teacher and headteacher of many primary schools in Kiribati before becoming a District Education Officer and then an Education Officer. He had once been employed as Curriculum Officer and EO (Administration) working under the then SEO (Planning). He is responsible for the Tarawa Teachers' College (TTC) and for the development of primary education throughout the country. He is assisted by the Principal of the TTC, the EO (Primary), the District Education Officers (DEOs), and the School Broadcasting Officer (SBO).

The SEO (Secondary) is a former teacher and principal of the government secondary school, the King George V & Elaine Bernacchi School (KGV/EBS). He is responsible for secondary education, technical training and pre-service scholarships. As the TTC is under the SEO (Primary) because of its role in training primary school teachers, the Tarawa Technical Institute (TTI) is put under the SEO (Secondary) because it is a direct outlet to secondary school leavers who wish to join the public service as clerical officers, accounting officers, typists or apprentices. The SEO (Secondary) is assisted by the Principal KGV/EBS, the Principal TTI, the EO (Secondary), and the EO (Tertiary). Mission schools are directly controlled and supervised by their respective church authorities, but are also under the general care of the SEO (Secondary).

The Senior Assistant Secretary looks after the Ministry's support services. He is assisted by a Higher Executive Officer who looks after the Accounts section, an Executive Officer who looks after the Registry section, a personal assistant to the Minister and Secretary, and the Librarian/Archivist.

The TTC, KGV/EBS, TTI and Library/Archives have a certain amount of autonomy. This is part of the effort of the Ministry to decentralise control, and the four institutions are now self-accounting. Primary schools will be given to the Island Councils as soon as they are ready to take up the responsibility. Island Councils are now looking after the maintenance of school buildings. An independent Educational Advisory Committee (EAC) is used by the Minister when he is in doubt about policy issues and innovations initiated by his professional officers. The Committee has an advisory role, and only meets when the Minister desires.

The organisation structure works well, except that very often the Principal TTC, Principal KGV/EBS and Principal TTI use their salary level status to by-pass their immediate supervising SEOs. The salary scale of SEOs (L6-5) is lower than that of the Principals (L5), although they have the same maximum point. This anomaly could be corrected by reversing the salary scale to be in line with seniority and the level of accountability as reflected in the organisation chart. However, it is not easy to do this. The same problem arises between the District Education Officers (L13-10) and the primary school Headteachers (L10).

Job specialisation only exists in the curriculum, school broadcasting, inspection and support services units. The other posts in the organisation chart are general. This permits some flexibility, e.g. in horizontal and vertical movement of staff between the institutions and sections of the central administration. Jobs are grouped in the way shown in the organisation chart to ease team work and to ensure efficient management.

Because of the scarcity of resources, the government cannot afford to get involved in all aspects of education and training. The question of 'choice' has to be employed carefully, and it is for this reason that the Ministry concentrates on formal education, sharing the responsibility for secondary education with the churches. Pre-schooling is entirely the responsibility of mothers and such private organisations as the Save the Children Federation and the Kiribati Pre-School Association. Non-formal education is shared with other ministries. An example is the canoe-building training project by the Fisheries Division of the Ministry of Natural Resources Development.

4. Ministry Personnel

(a) Appointments and Briefing

All posts in the Central Administration were localised in 1984. TTC is also localised, but KGV/EBS and TTI still rely on overseas recruitment for teachers of mathematics, science and electronics.

The National Conditions of Service specify that appointments and promotions should be based on merit through an interview system. The only exceptions are promotions to the SAS and Secretary posts. However because the Ministry of Education is small, everybody knows everybody and neutrality cannot be 100 per cent achieved. Thus while the interview system reduces subjectivity and favouritism in selection, these aspects cannot be eliminated. The type of complexity that may arise may be illustrated by the selection interview for the SEO (Secondary). Three of the four initial panelists had to pull out because they were closely related to one of the candidates, and another panel had to be appointed to do the job.

Once people have been appointed and placed in their jobs, it is the responsibility of the employing Ministry or Department to define their jobs. But there have been cases where jobs have been defined poorly or not defined at all. One example concerned two new curriculum officers. The supervising officer assumed that the appointees were quite conversant with the content of the consultancy report which recommended the establishment of a curriculum unit. The report clearly stated the job descriptions and the functions of the unit. Unfortunately the two officers had never seen the report, and without proper briefing by the supervising officer they spent one week doing virtually nothing.

When the Secretary for Education found out about this and related problems he called a meeting of supervising officers and stressed that every effort should be made to brief new and old subordinates face to face in order to encourage questions and ensure understanding. This, he suggested, should be done at least once a month, with dates set well in advance. The Secretary also introduced briefing folders which should be available for inspection at any time. This new system has improved staff management. Even in a small system it may be necessary to formalise such operations.

(b) Appraisal and Training

The work of individuals is appraised each year in an annual confidential report. Certain criteria are listed against which a rating can be given on a graduated scale. Supervising officers are required to inform subordinates of their poor performance face to face. Specialist officers are not exempted from this system.

However, the merit rating system has two major disadvantages. First, the criteria are subjective and difficult to measure. Second, experience shows that most supervisors tick the boxes in the middle of the scale, therefore showing most subordinates as 'average'. This happens because, especially in a small society, supervisors wish to avoid confrontation.

The Tarawa Technical Institute provides training for executive officers, clerical officers, accounts officers, typists and personal secretaries. The Tarawa Teachers' College caters for the training and upgrading of primary school teachers. Secondary school teachers are trained overseas, mostly in Fiji and Papua New Guinea. As part of the professional development programme, teachers, trainers, lecturers, supervisors and senior supervisors are nominated for suitable short courses advertised by overseas educational and training institutions.

Some critics assert that Kiribati still suffers from a British colonial hangover reflected in the materials used in schools, the choice of study and training venues, and the bureaucratic system of management. However, it is fair to say that not all curriculum materials from the past are irrelevant and unsuitable, and many courses in metropolitan institutions suit the needs of the country. In many cases, mature courses of the types required are not available in regional institutions. Individual bureaucratic systems have their own pros and cons; but one good thing about the system which Kiribati has maintained is that people know where they are and where they will be in the future. If clear lines of authority are specified and coordination is maximised, efficient management can be achieved.

(c) Promotion Prospects

The information in Figure 13.2 has been extracted from the organisation chart in Figure 13.1 to illustrate promotion prospects within the structure. The number of personnel per title indicates promotion probabilities. For example five officers could compete for the CEO post, i.e. Principal TTC, SEO (Primary), Principal KGV/EBS, SEO (Secondary) and Principal TTI. Although the Deputy Principal KGV/EBS would have a better chance of promotion to Principal levels in the three institutions, the officers in line E could also compete.

Promotion opportunities become scarcer as one moves up the hierarchy, and the problem is exacerbated by the fact that posts A to

C will soon be occupied by young officers (average age of 37 years). The compulsory retirement age in Kiribati is 50 years. Consequently many employees in the E to I levels have been lost to other sectors where promotion opportunities are brighter.

The post of Senior Assistant Secretary is not shown on Figure 13.2 because it is purely administrative. It therefore has a rather different career structure from that of the professionals.

Figure 13.2: Promotion Lines within the Ministry of Education, Kiribati

	Primary Teachers & Teacher Trainers	Secondary Teachers	Technical Institute Trainers
A	- Secretary	- Secretary	- Secretary
B	- CEO	- CEO	- CEO
C	- Pr TTC, SEO (Primary)	- Pr KGV/EBS, SEO (Sec)	- Principal TTI
D	-	- Deputy Pr KGV/EBS	-
E	- EO (Pr), Lecturers, CDOs 1 12 2	EO (S), EO (T), Teachers 1 1 38	Trainers 17
F	- District Ed. Officers 4		
G	- Grade 1 Teachers 30		
H	- Grade 2 Teachers 160		
I	- Grade 3 Teachers 310		

The salaries of staff in the E to I categories are reviewed annually to improve conditions and raise morale. Staff are also sent on courses or short attachments overseas as part of the professional development programme and as another means to raise morale. Within the organisation itself, delegation of responsibilities by senior officers to subordinate staff is encouraged for job enrichment and motivation. To some extent, these methods are effective means of reducing staff turn over especially amongst the less qualified employees. However, the mobility of young graduates remains high.

(d) External Commitments

Some functions in other ministries require the involvement of officers in the Ministry of Education. Examples are the Nutrition Committee of the Ministry of Health & Family Planning, the Manpower Planning Committee of the Office of the President, and the Development Co-ordinating Committee based at the Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning.

The advantage of these external links is that they give officers a broad and up-to-date view of the various activities of government. However, meetings often occupy a whole day or more. With their own work waiting, officers who are involved in the work of external bodies often find that they have to work outside official hours to get everything done. If they fail to do this, there is a considerable hold up of other officers' work. Proper time management is lacking amongst some officers, with the result that problems often arise.

5. International Linkages

(a) Aid

The aim of the Kiribati government is gradually to achieve self-reliance. Overseas aid has been viewed as one method to facilitate this. Kiribati is not rich, and its revenue is not large enough to cater for its many development objectives. Aid therefore plays a major role in funding development projects.

Nevertheless, even when aid is given and received for the best reasons and under the best conditions, problems can arise from dependence on it as a source of funding. Firstly, conditions and procedures required by the donors can be difficult and unnecessarily cumbersome. These requirements may involve reporting, acquittals, etc.. While it is understood that some requirements are necessary for the donors to be able to account for the use of aid funds to their own people, the task for a small administration trying to fulfil all the different requirements of different donors can become very difficult, especially when planning skills are scarce. Because of the large amount of work that goes with the programming, appraisal, approval and follow-up on projects, donors with efficient and sensitive administrative structures can provide much more useful assistance.

Sometimes donors dominate priorities and specify sectors. Recipients know that donors have their own reasons for giving aid. When there are other than developmental reasons, the donor agendas can distort the recipients' own objectives, especially in small states. Even when assistance is given for developmental reasons, the conditions and priorities of the donors may over-ride those of the recipients.

It is best if donors do not come with pre-conceived ideas about priorities. Rather, they should try to maintain as flexible an approach as possible. They should consult closely with the recipients in determining the priorities for the overall programme of assistance. This makes aid programming for the recipients much easier.

Donors often tie their aid because they wish to help their own economies. Sometimes they tie it to specific sectors because of their own ideas of what the recipients need. Aid that is tied in any way is less useful than aid that is untied. Aid tied to specific sources of equipment supply makes it difficult to standardise equipment, and ultimately makes maintenance and the holding of spares more difficult. Aid tied to specific sectors makes planning and allocation of overall aid more difficult. Often one finds several donors willing to find the same sectors, such as fisheries, while none are willing to fund other sectors that also need assistance.

For a small country with severe budget constraints, an unwillingness to fund local costs places a very high burden on an already stretched budget. The danger is that equipment will be accepted without the necessary local funds being available, in which case the projects may fail.

Along with equipment, many small countries particularly require a range of technical skills which are not available domestically. Finding expatriates with the necessary skills and aptitudes can be difficult. Donors that provide fully-funded experts sometimes only provide one candidate for each post, thus restricting the choice of the recipient. The recruitment procedures of some donors can also create long gaps between the completion of one officer's contract and the commencement of another.

(b) Regional Organisations

Kiribati is a member of the regional University of the South Pacific (USP), which plays a very important role for the Ministry of Education. Apart from being an outlet for the country's secondary school leavers, it also provides consultancy services and short attachment programmes for Ministry personnel. The university also operates an upgrading programme for Kiribati teachers.

The South Pacific Board for Educational Assessment (SPBEA) assists the Ministry's planning unit to improve examination papers and procedures. Currently, work is being undertaken on a national examination to replace the New Zealand School Certificate of Education. The SPBEA is also helping to establish a standardised achievement test, train personnel involved with assessment, and establish a regional Pacific School Senior Examination equivalent to the New Zealand University Entrance Examination taken at the end of Form 6.

Although Kiribati only joined Unesco in 1990, the Ministry of Education has long benefitted from the work programme of this organisation. Kiribati has participated in almost all Unesco's training programmes for the South Pacific region. This has included workshops in science teaching, use of micro-computers, and educational management for school inspectors.

The South Pacific Commission (SPC) through the South Pacific Regional Environment Program (SPREP) is sponsoring a regional curriculum workshop on environmental science. This programme was initiated by Kiribati for introduction in primary schools, particularly at the upper classes to link science content in upper primary and junior secondary schools.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) supports literacy programmes at primary level. Currently, this organisation is providing funds for our 'Ready to Read' project as well as various consultancy services.

Liaison with these organisations is the responsibility of the Ministry's planning unit. All projects should pass through the Development Coordinating Committee, which appraises, screens and prioritises projects for Cabinet approval. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs then informs overseas donors of the needs.

While a regional approach to the funnelling of aid can be useful, the actual distribution, in most cases, is not done on a country-by-country basis. Implementation of regional projects can be very difficult. They can easily end up not really fulfilling anyone's needs properly.

Although the Ministry of Education uses the advice and professional services of the USP, SPBEA and other regional bodies, it has its own small pool of professional officers who can give advice and technical services on the spot. The USP and SPBEA are often used to give second opinions on educational issues and policies, but the final decisions rest with the Ministry of Education.

(c) Management of International Linkages

The Ministry of Education receives requests for information from many international organisations, including Unesco, the Commonwealth Secretariat, UNDP and SPC, as well as from university institutions which are undertaking research in Kiribati. The requests from Unesco are annual, and are often in the form of statistical questionnaires. Information requested by the Commonwealth Secretariat may be either general or specific. One example of the latter concerns tracer studies of students that have been sponsored by the Commonwealth. Normally organisations like SPC and UNDP request information on the projects which they fund in the country.

Unesco's questionnaires and requests on the progress of projects are often particularly time-consuming. However, with the establishment of an education data bank requests can now be dealt with speedily. The planning unit of the Ministry handles all these matters, including reports from international bodies.

Another management problem arises from the absences of individuals to attend international meetings. Such absences often bring confusion to management, particularly in the allocation of personnel and readjustment of responsibilities. International meetings are of course not the only reasons for absence. Other reasons include annual leave, sick leave, maternity leave, funerals, birthday party preparations, sick children, etc..

Leave absences are monitored through a leave roster for every member of the Ministry. The problem of replacement is reduced by having at least two officers in each section who have linked responsibilities. The Ministry also has a good record-keeping system, and officers who expect to be absent are required to prepare hand-over notes and to brief the officers who will look after their responsibilities. The Secretary should be sent copies of these hand-over notes. When absences exceed nine days, charge allowances may be claimed. This provides an incentive for replacement officers, and makes movements smoother.

6. The Culture of the Ministry

(a) Close Interpersonal Relationships

The objective of building up an effective team can be easily achieved by establishing first a happy and friendly relationship among the members of the work force. This task is easier to accomplish in an organisation with a small number of personnel.

In the Kiribati Ministry of Education, all members of the work force know each other by name and character. In some cases employees are related to other employees, or at least come from the same island. For example the Minister of Education, the Secretary for Education and the DEO (Urban) all come from the same family tree. Also, the wife of the Secretary is Principal of the only government secondary school in the country.

These organisational placements are coincidental rather than manipulated, but have several advantages. Among the benefits are that:

- cooperation is encouraged;
- debates are often open, and decisions are reached more quickly and by consensus;
- trust and respect are observed more closely, and the problem of wrong reporting on people is minimised;
- obedience is maximised;
- complaints and grievances can be solved more quickly, and with the understanding of both parties;
- people are more ready to share problems; and
- there is often a happy and understanding workforce.

However, the closeness of interpersonal relations can also create disadvantages:

- impartiality in decision-making may be difficult to achieve;
- external pressure in criticising the management cannot be avoided;
- interpersonal relations may create a situation in which superiors do not promote family members for fear of criticism;
- a situation will also be created in which managers find it awkward to support their subordinates, particularly relatives, when in danger of unjustified disciplinary action, even when the managers are the only people who can save the subordinates from bad judgement; and
- cases where a member of the organisation often escapes disciplinary action will be criticised by others as favouritism if the officers concerned and the managers are related.

The most profound theory of decision-making is 'objectivity' or 'impartiality'. However, this theory is not practicable if members of the organisation do not know what it really implies. They should be made to understand that decisions are based on merit and certain accepted criteria, not that one person is related to another, and not because one is bribed to reach a certain decision. A good starting point for this understanding is to train all members of the organisation in decision-making skills.

(b) Personal Impact

Being small, the Ministry of Education is full of professional officers who are eager to make reforms to the existing system or to part of it. Chances may arise during periods of deputising. However, these periods are normally limited to 30 working days each year, which is not long enough for proper planning of changes. In many cases changes are forced on the system, and create problems.

In one example the Secretary for Education, the CEO and the two SEOs were all overseas on official duties, leaving the SAS to look after the Ministry. This gave the SAS an opportunity to process promotion recommendations for four teachers who had approached him for assistance of this nature. The move would have been successful if the PSC had not found that the annual confidential report enclosed with the SAS's letter omitted the comment of the immediate supervising officer, who in this case was the SEO (Primary). The SAS failed to achieve his objective because things like promotion cannot be done in haste. There are standard procedures to be followed.

However, personal impact can also have a positive effect. For example when one education officer came back from a personnel management course in Australia he initiated a reform of the Ministry of Education structure. He proposed the creation of the CEO post to bridge the gap between the Secretary who is a pure administrator and the professional Education Officers. After a long debate at both Ministry and Cabinet levels, the proposal was approved. The new post became a promotion outlet for the SEOs.

Yet the plan also had a problematic aspect in the small system. When the vacancy was advertised, not surprisingly the officer who had proposed the change was one of the candidates. Being well conversant with the reason behind the change, he won the post and was appointed. This dismayed the SEOs, one of whom resigned even before the post was advertised.

(c) Information Flows

There are three basic ways through which information flows in the

Ministry of Education. The first is through the circulation folder system. All mail, except secret and confidential letters, is opened by the Registry and circulated for sighting first by the Secretary and then by the CEO, SAS and SEOs. Secret and confidential letters are opened by the Personal Secretary and circulated only to the Minister, the Secretary and the CEO. Involving a limited number of officers to see the circulation folder allows for a speedy action. It is the responsibility of SEOs to inform other officers what goes on not only in their respective sections but also in other sections. This is commonly done in formal or informal meetings.

The second method of information dissemination is by a system of 'flimsy' circulation of non-restricted correspondence to all members of the office. This refers only to copies of outward correspondence. From this system members will know or at least guess what goes on within and without the Ministry.

The third method of informing is through meetings. The SEO (Primary) uses this method a lot as there are many people in his section to be informed, and informing them through a meeting is more expedient and cost-effective. The other senior officers depend very much on the other methods of communication. The problem that sometimes arises is that they assume that information has flowed easily when in fact it has not. Subordinate officers may not have time to read the flimsy folder or to inquire about events related to outward letters from senior officers.

One example illustrates this lack of information flow. It is the practice for the secondary school section of the Ministry to arrange transport for new and terminating students from church secondary schools at the beginning and end of each year. The SEO (Secondary) considered this task cumbersome, and sent a circular to church authorities to indicate that from the following year they should organise their own transport with the Ministry paying for it. The subordinate officer who used to do the job did not see the flimsy copy of the circular and was therefore unaware of the change. She continued to make advance arrangements without realising that the church authorities were doing the same thing. This caused considerable confusion for the Shipping Authority, and the Ministry was asked to make double payments.

When the problem was investigated, the subordinate officer claimed that she was not aware of the change. The senior officer admitted that he had not informed her of the change face-to-face, having assumed that she would read the flimsy copy of the circular letter. The senior officer learned from this event the necessity for following up circular letters with face-to-face briefing of subordinates.

7. Conclusions

Administration in Kiribati is made especially difficult by the vast distances between the islands. This imposes additional strains on a ministry which is already small. Further problems have been caused by the lack of skilled manpower. However, the Ministry has now localised all its posts, and it is gradually maturing.

To maximise use of limited personnel, many officers are asked to be multi-functional and generalist. For example, there is no officer specifically designated as an education planner. The planning is done by the CEO in conjunction with the EO (Administration), and the so-called planning unit must also undertake work on examinations, liaison with donors, preparation of statistics, and answering of questionnaires from international bodies. Job specialisation only exists in the curriculum, school broadcasting, inspection and support services units. On the other hand, the mere existence of some of these units is an achievement in such a small system.

The chapter has also highlighted some features of Kiribati's international relations. The country depends on foreign aid for many development projects, but finds the bureaucratic procedures of many donor agencies and international bodies a heavy strain on the small organisation. Kiribati is also a member of several regional organisations, among which are the University of the South Pacific and the South Pacific Board for Educational Assessment. These bodies also have problematic aspects, but on balance they are strongly beneficial to the Ministry.

Finally, on the positive side, the Ministry benefits from close interpersonal relationships in which everybody knows everybody else and may even be related. However, it has been pointed out that this also has a negative side. One way in which Ministry officers try to avoid the negative side is by paying close attention to public service procedures.

Chapter 14: Solomon Islands

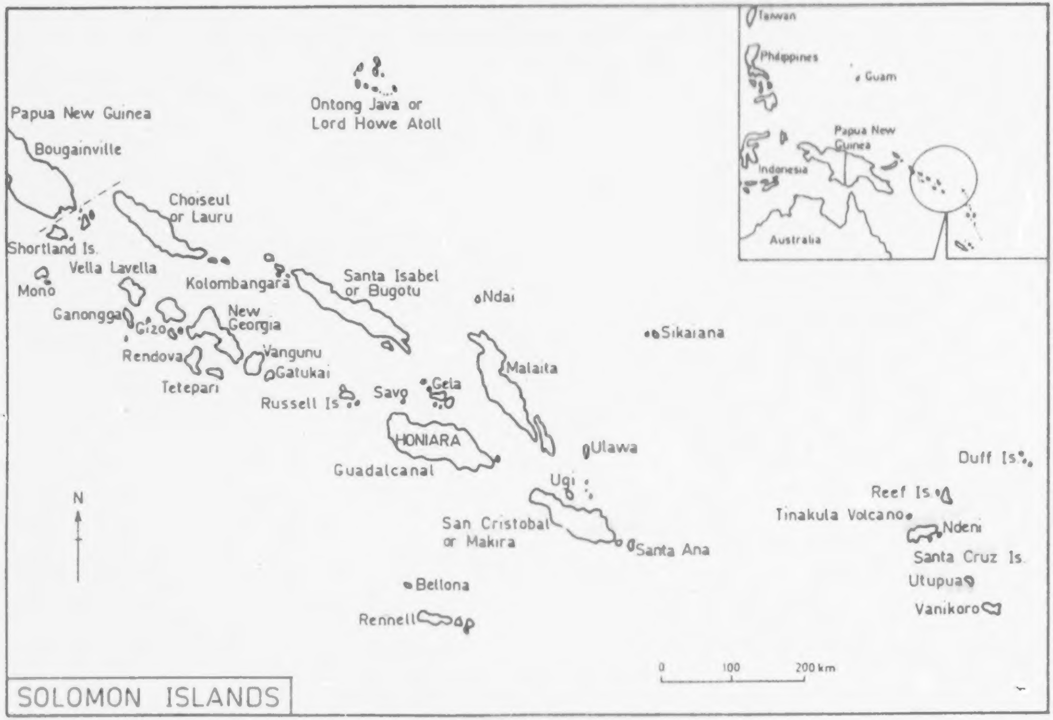
Walter Ramo

Population (1988): 304,000
Population Growth Rate (1980-88): 3.7% per annum
Land Area: 29,000 square kilometres
Sea Area: 748,000 square kilometres Capital: Honiara
GNP per Capita (1988): US$430
Year of Independence: 1978
Primary School Enrolment Rate (1988): 73.3%
Human Development Index (1987): 0.349

Solomon Islands is a scattered archipelago consisting of six major islands and hundreds of small volcanic and raised atolls. The two most heavily populated islands are called Malaita and Guadalcanal. The majority of the population are Melanesian, though significant proportions are Polynesian and Micronesian. The official language is English, but over 100 different vernaculars are also used and the most effective lingua franca is Solomon Pijin. Over 90 per cent of the population are Christian.

The northern part of Solomon Islands became a German protectorate in 1885, and the southern part a British protectorate in 1893. Rennell Island and the Santa Cruz Islands were added to the British protectorate in 1898 and 1899. Germany ceded most of the northern Solomons and Ontong Java Islands to the United Kingdom between 1898 and 1900. The whole territory, known as the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, was placed under the jurisdiction of the Western Pacific High Commission which was headquartered in Fiji. The country gained internal self-government in 1976, and independence in 1978. Since that time it has been governed according to the Westminster model on a multi-party system.

About 75 per cent of the population depends on subsistence agriculture. The principal commercial agricultural products are copra and


SOLOMON ISLANDS
Papua New Guinea
Bougainville
Ontong Java or
Lord Howe Atoll
Choiseul
or Lauru
Shortland Is.
Mono
Vella Lavella
Kolombangara
Santa Isabel
or Bugotu
Ganongga
Gizo
New
Georgia
Rendova
Vangunu
Gatukai
Tetepari
Russell Is.
Savo
Gela
Ndai
Sikaiana
Malaita
HONIARA
Guadalcanal
Ulawa
Ugi
San Cristobal
or Makira
Santa Ana
Bellona
Rennell
Duff Is.
Reef Is.
Tinakula Volcano
Ndeni
Santa Cruz Is.
Utupua
Vanikoro
N
0
100
200 km
Taiwan
Philippines
Guam
Papua New
Guinea
Indonesia
Australia

oil palm, but in recent years fishing and timber have contributed larger shares of exports. The economy also gains significant income from external aid. In recent years the United Kingdom has featured less prominently as a major donor, while Australia and to a lesser extent New Zealand have played more active roles. In contrast to many small states in the Caribbean and elsewhere in the South Pacific, Solomon Islands earns very little revenue from tourism.

1. Ministry Responsibilities

The education sector is administered by the Ministry of Education & Human Resources Development (MEHRD). This body resulted from a reshuffling of ministry responsibilities in 1989. Before the reshuffle, education was administered by the Ministry of Education & Training (MET).

In addition to education, the MEHRD is responsible for manpower planning and for public service training. The former used to be a function of the Ministry of Economic Planning, and the latter was a function of the Ministry of Public Service. The MET had been responsible for overseas training, and thus had overlapping functions. By grouping the functions in one place, the architects of the reorganisation hoped to avoid duplication and to rationalise use of resources.

Since 1981, much administration of education has been decentralised to the governments of seven provinces and to the Honiara Town Council. Officers are commonly seconded to provincial governments by the MEHRD, but the provincial governments have a considerable degree of autonomy. This can create problems of divided loyalty. While the staffing levels provincial education offices vary, most have a Principal Education Officer (PEO), a Senior Education Education Officer (SEO), a Education Officer (EO), a Community Education Officer (CEO), and three inspectors.

The decentralised system is made necessary by the geographic and cultural diversity of the country, and by the problems of communication and transportation. The system permits many administrative problems to be dealt with at the local level, and can make the schools more responsive to local needs. However, decentralisation has also exacerbated problems. The system is costly in both financial and manpower terms, and particularly because the provinces are short of qualified staff the system often operates inefficiently. Another problem is that the national and provincial governments may disagree on policies and priorities.

The MEHRD also shares some responsibilities at the national government level. For instance the Statistics Office of the Ministry of Finance serves all ministries and handles most aspects of data collection and analysis; and responsibility for secondary school buildings is undertaken by the Ministry of Transport, Works & Utilities.

As in other small states, however, some aspects of education are not undertaken by the government at all. For example the MEHRD has no officers responsible for kindergartens or adult education; and although the MEHRD does employ inspectors for primary schools (most of whom are deployed through the provinces), it has no inspectors for secondary schools.

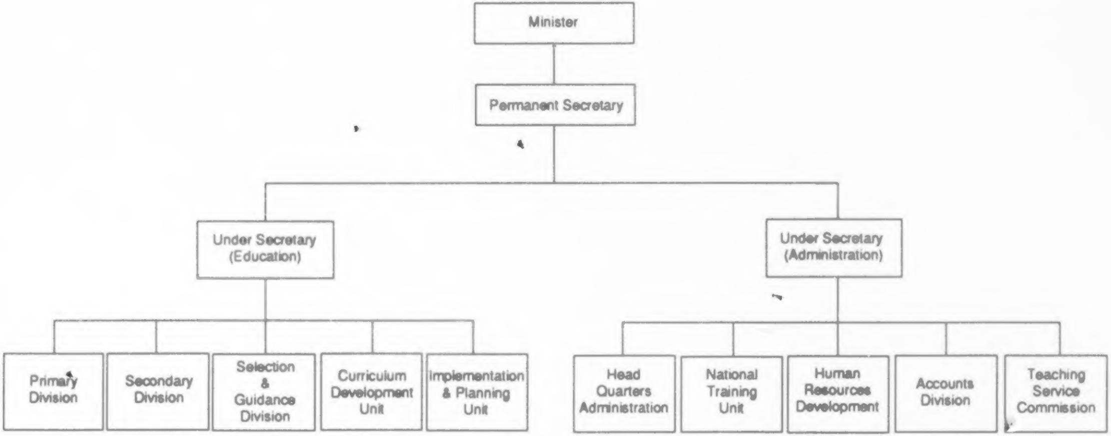
2. Formal Organisation of the MEHRD

The structure of the MEHRD is shown in Figure 14.1. The ministry has two main branches, responsible for professional and administrative matters. Each branch is headed by an Under Secretary. The professional branch has six divisions, namely primary education, secondary education, selection & guidance, the curriculum development unit, the implementation & planning unit, and the national manpower division. The administration branch has five divisions, responsible for administration of headquarters, national training, human resources development, accounts, overseas training, and the Teaching Service Commission. When designing the structure, the architects were conscious of the need to have rough balance between the two wings. They also tried to align the divisions with the expertise of the two Under Secretaries then existing.

The change from the MET to the MEHRD was an attempt to link manpower planning more effectively to education. In particular it brought under a common umbrella both a large World Bank/Australian secondary education project and a large European Economic Community (EEC) manpower development project. Some observers had suggested that manpower planning would be better conducted by the newly-combined Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning or by the Prime Minister's office, with an officer having HRD responsibilities in each province. However, the authorities decided that the merger with Education & Training was preferable.

The Curriculum Development Unit is physically located not in the Ministry headquarters but near the School of Education & Cultural Studies of the Solomon Islands College of Higher Education (SICHE). As well as alleviating space constraints, this promotes linkages with the teacher-trainers.

Figure 14.1: The Ministry of Education & Human Resources Development, Solomon Islands (1989)


Minister
Permanent Secretary
Under Secretary (Education)
Under Secretary (Administration)
Primary Division
Secondary Division
Selection & Guidance Division
Curriculum Development Unit
Implementation & Planning Unit
Head Quarters Administration
National Training Unit
Human Resources Development
Accounts Division
Teaching Service Commission

3. Ministry Personnel

(a) Numbers and Expertise

Most of the divisions are quite small. In the Education wing, for example, the largest divisions are the Implementation & Planning Unit, which has seven professional staff, and the Selection & Guidance Division which has three professional staff. The weighting of seniority is towards the top end of the scale, and there are no Education Officers at Level 6 or below. Many divisions also suffer from the lack of support staff.

However, staff shortages are relieved by cooperation and overlap between divisions. For example the CEO (Primary) is concerned with teacher training, curriculum and supplies as well as with more narrowly-focused administration of primary schools.

Shortage of expertise is a chronic problem in many areas. It is caused by several factors. First, the country depends largely on outside assistance for training, and does not have the financial power to send sufficient people to gain required skills. Second, because no proper analysis has yet been carried out on national requirements, most training is only loosely tied to the country's needs. Linked to this, selection for training tends to be *ad hoc* rather than being based on a coherent plan.

Many officers are in the Ministry more by chance than by design, and few have been specially trained for their jobs. In almost all cases, officers come into the Ministry from the classroom and make their way up.

Most officers holding the posts of Chief Education Officer and above hold degrees and/or diplomas in education. Some of these enter at the top of the system. Staff who work their way up include the accountants and administrators who are able to do short courses locally.

Because local expertise is still scarce, many individuals are first appointed to senior posts and are then given training to help them perform their tasks. No doubt when the country is swarming with qualified personnel there will be a saturation point beyond which qualified individuals are available and yet cannot be promoted since the existing occupants of posts are also qualified. Perhaps when the time comes this country will have to establish tighter selection, monitoring and assessment procedures in order to ensure that only the best are promoted. A country like Solomon Islands with few resources cannot afford to keep expanding the bureaucracy to create posts at will for the sake of promotions.

The government has been able to meet some personnel needs through external aid schemes. For example the Principal Examinations

Officer is employed through the UK Overseas Development Administration, the acting CEO (Planning) and the acting SEO (Nonformal Education) are Peace Corps volunteers, and the adviser in the Implementation & Planning Unit is paid by the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB). However, employment of such expatriates is only an interim measure pending full localisation.

The Ministry also employs short-term consultants for specific tasks. In most cases the consultants are recruited to assist in work for which the Ministry lacks its own specialists. Sometimes, however, the Ministry recruits consultants even when it does have its own skilled personnel. Usually the main reason for this is that the skilled locals are already overcommitted with other tasks.

The need for consultants arises from both the small size of the system and the undeveloped nature of local expertise. However both these factors can make the Ministry more vulnerable to unsatisfactory work. In at least one recent case, the Ministry commissioned a report on an aspect of the education system, paying two consultants with funds provided through an external agency. The consultants were technically well-qualified, but lacked familiarity with the administrative and political arrangements which govern decision-making in Solomon Islands education. Faced with a complex situation, the consultants presented a report which allocated too much space to description and explanation to the external funding agency and which did not greatly advance the knowledge of Solomon Islands officials.

This report should have been sent back to the authors for rewriting. But because the Ministry was small and had few specialist officers sufficiently capable and confident of challenging the work, the report was accepted as it was. In return for a considerable fee, therefore, the Ministry received a document which was put aside because nobody knew what to do with it.

Of course not all reports are of this type. The Ministry is assisted by many individuals who are not only experienced, diligent and sensitive, but who can also report clearly and appropriately. Their inputs are especially valued because of the limitations of local expertise. However, the case is highlighted because it illustrates one aspect of the vulnerability of small states.

(b) Job Definition and Appraisal

The MEHRD has recently gone through the job descriptions of some of its officers in order to update them and make them more detailed. The job descriptions indicate the tasks to be performed and outline the expected results. However, officers rarely take time to check on what they should be doing. The job descriptions are normally consulted only when individual officers' actions are in question.

To improve the situation, induction sessions have recently been introduced for some new staff. In these sessions, the duties of the new staff and their expected modes of operation are explained. Yet the induction sessions do not always have a strong or lasting impact.

Within the MEHRD some specialisation is possible, especially in the Implementation & Planning Unit, the accounts section, and the secondary schools division. However, specialisation is not so easy in other parts of the ministry, either because the system is too small or because qualified personnel are not available.

In many cases jobs are grouped according to convenience rather than on carefully-planned models. As a result, the Chief Education Officers in the divisions of both primary and secondary education, for example, find themselves required to be planners, project officers, recruiting officers, and supply & distribution officers. This practice allows a lot to be ignored, especially in areas in which officers lack expertise. The officers tend to perform best in their professional areas and simply try to make do in others. Sometimes officers are so preoccupied with meetings relating to their many tasks that in the end they have little time to implement anything.

The Ministry has begun to use specific tools for staff assessment and appraisal. Unfortunately senior personnel lack experience with these tools and have experienced some difficulties. In practice, assessments tend to be based on guesstimates, and coherent use of formal indicators of performance is yet to become a feature of the system. There is also a need for a self-appraisal system. In essence, a lot of 'weighing' is practised, even in the only staff confidential report which is made out annually. Officers tend to give more weight to the reports on people whom they know personally.

Many ministry officials perform tasks for such external bodies as the Censorship Board and the Council of the Solomon Islands College of Higher Education (SICHE). Some individuals are also members of school Boards of Governors. The main advantage of these linkages is that they help the Ministry to remain in touch with developments elsewhere. Where the organisations have an educational role, the ministry officials can also play a control and support function. However, some of these bodies have nothing to do with education, and work for them may therefore be a distraction and a burden. Also, officers may get so involved in the activities of other organisations that they neglect their own duties. Conversely, because they are so busy at the Ministry they cannot always attend the meetings of the external bodies regularly.

Lack of neutrality in personnel matters is obvious in two areas. First, many senior officers in the Ministry only hold their posts on an acting basis. When their cases come before the Public Service Commission, decisions can be swayed, for better or worse, by recommendations from the Ministry. These recommendations are often influenced more by seniority and the length of time officers have been in post than by tangible indicators of performance.

The second area concerns the lowest-level, non-established posts, for which recruitment is made directly by the Ministry. Favouritism may or may not be a factor in employment; but even when it is not, the process is excessively casual.

(c) The Hierarchy

The MEHRD, like other ministries both in Solomon Islands and in other small states, has a rather short pyramid. Table 14.1 shows that there are only four national public servants above that of principal of a National Secondary School (NSS), and there are 23 public service positions at Level 8 or above. The latter includes the principals of the

Table 14.1: Senior Posts within the Solomon Islands Education Service

Level	National Government	Provincial Governments	Schools
12	Permanent Secretary (1 position)		
11	Under Secretary (2 positions)		
10	Director, Implem. & Planning Unit (1 position)		
9	CEO (4 positions)		NSS Principal (8 positions)
8	PEO (8 positions)	PEO (7 positions)	NSS Deputy Principal (8 positions) PSS Principal (12 positions)

Provincial Secondary Schools (PSSs). Because of this structure, Solomon Islands does not seriously suffer from the complaint common in large bureaucracies where teachers leave schools in order to further their careers in administration.

Although the shortness of the pyramid causes problems when individuals feel deprived of promotions, it facilitates consultation and communication. Generally speaking, the shorter the hierarchy, the faster information can get to the bottom.

The trend up to now tends to show that transfers or promotions to the Ministry favour classroom teachers and principals, though this is not a planned strategy. One of the Under Secretary posts has been held by two different principals, one of whom is now a Permanent Secretary in another ministry. Prior to taking up the post the present occupant gained a masters' degree in educational administration and management.

4. Curriculum Development

(a) Staffing

Recent years have brought dramatic improvements in curriculum development, particularly at the secondary school level. Until 1985 there was only one full-time post of Curriculum Officer for secondary schools. Since then, seven posts have been created for specialists in agriculture, home economics, industrial arts, English, mathematics, science, and social studies.

Most curriculum development has been generated by teachers' panels for each subject. The full panels meet once a year in a 10-day workshop for writing syllabuses and curriculum materials, setting examinations and sometimes in-service work. During these workshops each panel is advised by an overseas consultant. The teachers in the four NSSs and one PSS near Honiara hold panel meetings every two weeks to continue the work of the workshops. It is more difficult to involve teachers from the other four NSSs and the other 11 PSSs. However, the schools located near Honiara represent a high proportion of the total number of institutions, and Solomon Islands is therefore able to achieve far greater proportionate participation of teachers in curriculum development than would be possible in a larger system. Moreover the panels in Honiara are encouraged to correspond with their counterparts elsewhere.

The appointment of Curriculum Officers has allowed the Ministry to provide much more guidance in the development of each subject.

However, the Curriculum Officers still work with and through the panels. The Curriculum Officers coordinate the panels, assist in writing and editing teaching materials, organise the annual curriculum workshops in their subjects, visit schools to trial materials, and advise teachers on the use of materials and the teaching of the subject.

These school visits are especially important because of the lack of secondary inspectors. The visits provide a way in which the small system can to some extent cover both functions with one set of personnel. They have greatly helped to improve linkages between the Ministry and the schools.

(b) Curriculum Materials

Syllabuses and teaching materials for all subjects have been produced by the teachers' panels, the former subject advisers and the Curriculum Officers. Most subjects rely mainly on local teaching materials produced in this way, especially in Forms 1-3.

The largest amount of material so far has been produced by the Panels themselves. Output has been remarkable considering that this has all been done by unpaid, voluntary efforts by full-time teachers. Chairpersons work particularly hard in addition to their normal teaching load.

Experience has shown, however, that although teachers in their panels can write syllabuses, examinations and some teaching materials, they do not have the time, experience or skill to produce full courses of teaching materials. That is why the creation of full-time Curriculum Officer posts and increased assistance from overseas consultants was considered essential.

Overall, the quantity and quality of material produced has been remarkable for a small system. It helps teachers and pupils to feel that the Solomon Islands system has an identity of its own, which in turn increases the feelings of relevance and pride. However, the Ministry does not rely entirely on locally-produced materials. Where commercially-published overseas materials are considered suitable they are purchased instead of or in addition to local materials. English, for example, uses the 'Link' series published in Fiji, and is considering replacing this with 'Create and Communicate' published in Australia for Papua New Guinea. Christian Education has used texts from Papua New Guinea, though is now replacing them with local materials. Science is considering adopting an Australian series to supplement local units.

In Forms 4 and 5 there is more extensive use of overseas books, mainly chosen and purchased by individual schools. Only since 1984 has the Curriculum Centre been allowed to buy sets of overseas books for schools if they are adopted as approved texts by the panels. In addition, much of the material produced locally has been adapted from Papua New Guinea and other countries.

All locally-written or adapted materials are printed at the Curriculum Development Centre. This can print by off-set litho or by duplication, and has a graphics section with three artists. Production has often been slowed by old machinery and lack of skilled supervision, but we now have a new printing machine and proposals have been accepted for the post of Curriculum Development Officer (Production) to supervise the printery.

In spite of the problems of lack of full-time writers and the inadequacy of the printery, many books have been produced over the years. Table 14.2 shows the output between 1978 and 1987. The books vary in length from 150 to eight pages, averaging between 30 and 40 pages.

Table 14.2: Production of Materials, Solomon Islands, 1978-87

Year	Students' Books	Teachers' Books and Syllabuses
1978-81	32	12
1982	26	9
1983	53	20
1984	21	3
1985	23	4
1986	17	3
1987 (to June)	17	7

This production has had a considerable impact on the schools, especially the PSSs. In 1981 they were teaching largely without any textbooks at all, and often without detailed syllabuses. Most subjects now have a complete or nearly complete set of materials up to Form 3 level, and many more materials are also available for the later forms. The emphasis is now turning to in-service work to assist the teachers to use the materials.

5. International Linkages

(a) Aid

The MEHRD depends heavily on outside aid for development projects in school expansion, curriculum development and manpower training. Table 14.3 shows the number and range of aid projects existing in 1988. Eight different donors or international agencies are named. Liaison with these bodies is a major task for officers of the Ministry.

Table 14.4 adds the projects which had been approved but which had not yet commenced, the projects which had been prepared but not yet funded, and the projects in the process of preparation. The table mentions a further three international agencies. As is implied by the second part of the table, preparation of projects does not always bear immediate or even ultimate fruit. Projects have to be proposed to agencies which may or may not be willing to take them on, and this requires a great deal of effort. Fortunately some agencies are willing to send specialists to help in project preparation as well as in implementation.

Aid is good when it is injected into essential services such as health and education. However, it may also have problematic aspects. Because aid does not usually provide for maintenance, the government finds itself committed to increasing recurrent expenditure. Also, training is frequently provided only on the terms and in the locations determined by donors, even though such terms and locations may not be in the best interests of the country. Further, in some instances aid is tied to persons and goods from the donors' countries, even though other sources might be more suitable. And finally, the types of project favoured by the donors are not always the ones favoured by the governments of the recipient countries.

The Ministry can minimise the detrimental effects of aid in several ways. First, the government should be sensitive to the dangers of distorting effects, and should only accept aid which can be used in beneficial ways. Officers should be particularly wary of aid which is only available for capital costs. Also, the government must train more personnel to handle aid donors and programmes. Only in this way can we ensure that we know what we want, after which we can tactfully approach donors so that ideas may be sold to them. The Implementation & Planning Unit (IPU) also deserves specific mention in the context of aid. The IPU was established as part of the secondary education project, which is jointly funded by the World Bank, AIDAB and the Solomon Islands government. Because strengthening of planning was itself one aim of the project, creation of the unit made sense in it-

Table 14.3: Ongoing Projects in the Education Sector, Solomon Islands, 1988

Project Title	Description	Duration	Cost (SI$)	Funding
Primary education development	classroom construction teacher training curriculum development	1981-88	7,400,000	IBRD AIDAB SIG
Vacation school for primary tchrs	annual in-service training	1985-90	79,000	NZ
Health education curric. development	writing & publication of materials; training	1987-88		WHO
Secondary education expansion	school construction teacher training curriculum development equipment/materials fellowships/attachments studies/research	1987-92	16,070,000	WB AIDAB SIG
Curriculum development	consultants for workshops	1986-89	75,000	NZ
Goldie College water supply	provision of reliable water supply	1988	40,000	AIDAB
Secondary teacher education progr.	resources for English and Social Studies	1988	44,600	NZ
SICHE School of Education	lecturers in English & Home Economics; houses; attachments	1987-90	780,000	NZ
Overseas Scholarships	various subjects	annual	5,180,000	AIDAB, NZ, EEC, UK, CFTC, SIG
Education planning	assistance to prepare education plan	1988		UNEPOC
Cyclone Rehabilitation	primary school bldgs. secondary sch. bldgs. materials/equipment	1987 1987-88 1987-88	800,000 700,000 509,000	AIDAB UK NZ, UK, EEC
School broadcasts	feasibility study	3 mths	600,000	NZ

Notes (a) IBRD = International Bank for Reconstruction & Development [World Bank]; AIDAB = Australian International Development Assistance Bureau; SIG = Solomon Islands Government; NZ = New Zealand; WHO = World Health Organisation; EEC = European Economic Community; UK = United Kingdom; CFTC = Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation; UNEPOC = United Nations ESCAP Pacific Operations Centre.

(b) In mid-1988, SI$1.00 was equivalent to US$0.47.

Table 14.4: Anticipated Projects in the Education Sector, Solomon Islands, 1988

Project Title	Description	Duration	Cost (SI$)	Funding
A. Projects Approved but not Commenced				
Preparatory education	materials, training	2 years	140,000	Unicef
Primary schools	water supply, sanitation	2 years	210,000	Unicef
Provincial Secondary Schools	stoves and firewood lots	1 year	175,000	EEC
B. Projects Prepared but not yet Funded				
Community education	adviser	1 year		UNDP/ILO
Sixth Forms	microbiology equipment	1 year	50,000	
Provincial Secondary Schools	upgrading	1 year	1,000,000	
Curriculum Development Centre	printing equipment	1 year	50,000	
C. Projects being/to be Formulated				
Su'u Sec. School	ablution blocks, dormitories			
Kamaosi, Alardyce & Tangarare PSSs	building works			
Secondary schools	water supply and sanitation			
KGVI School	maintenance and upgrading			
Headteachers and Inspectors	Unesco regional project for upgrading			
Tech/voc. training	general development			
Cyclone Anna rehabilitation	primary schools in Temotu Province			
Sixth Forms	equipment, textbooks (all subjects)			
New Selwyn College	construction			

self. The IPU also provides a convenient single reference point to the two external agencies, who would otherwise have to liaise with a large number of people at all levels of the Ministry.

The importance of the unit is reflected in the fact that its Director occupies a Level 10 position, senior to the CEOs and junior only to the Under Secretaries and the Permanent Secretary. It must be admitted, however, that the special treatment of the IPU does cause problems. In contrast to the main part of the Ministry the IPU has its own air-conditioned suite of offices, its own photocopier and its own vehicle. It has also been the principal commissioning agent for many external consultants. The fact that the IPU has been perceived to have resources and prestige lacked by other parts of the Ministry has caused some elements of internal friction.

(b) Regional Organisations

Two regional organisations relate very strongly to the operations of the MEHRD. The first is the University of the South Pacific (USP), and the second is the South Pacific Board for Educational Assessment (SPBEA).

The Minister of Education is a member of the USP Council. This helps Solomon Islands to benefit from the institution. The MEHRD gains staff development through the USP Institute of Education and the USP Extension Studies centre located in Honiara. The USP also provides consultancy advice and support for the Solomon Islands College of Higher Education.

However, some USP courses much needed by this country have recently been abolished. Among them have been the B.Ed. and Diploma courses, which were cut simply because only Solomon Islands and a few other smaller countries still needed them. In this respect, the service by USP is less than optimal.

The SPBEA operates a regional examination and assists with national examinations. It also sets criteria for assessment, and helps train personnel to carry out assessment. In 1989 the Solomon Islands Permanent Secretary was Chairman of the SPBEA. The SPBEA is a fairly young body about which it is too early to make conclusive statements, but initial experiences have been very positive.

Responsibilities for dealing with the regional bodies are vested with different divisions of the Ministry. The Training & Manpower Planning Division works with the USP, and the Selection & Guidance Division works with the SPBEA. The latter Division is also responsible for national examinations and selection.

(c) Management of Information

The capacity to respond to external requests for information is not yet well established. The Ministry will eventually establish a good information system, but it needs additional expertise and time. Meanwhile, responses to requests for information are often time-consuming, and in the absence of a good information system the data provided are sometimes unreliable and out of date.

Reports received from international bodies are often read and filed away if they do not call for an immediate response or action. Reports requiring actions relating to developments in education are generally attended to more actively than reports which are merely informative.

(d) Absence of Individuals

When officers go abroad for meetings, workshops or seminars, the problem of who takes over temporary responsibilities can be chronic, especially in divisions where posts are unfilled due to lack of suitable manpower. In some cases officers simply leave, and things come to a standstill while they are away. A 1989 initiative emphasised the value of team work and helped reduce the problem at the upper level. Also, when the Permanent Secretary or Under Secretaries are away, priority tasks may be given to the appropriate caretaking officers. In general, however, this issue needs to be addressed so that standard procedures may be devised.

Overseas trips have a significant effect on the life of a small Ministry for personal as well as professional reasons. They are generally prized because they allow individuals to save money by living within the allowances and by not spending their normal salaries, and they provide opportunities to buy the latest fashions and electronic goods. The trips also boost prestige, firstly because the individuals have been chosen in competition with others, and secondly because while abroad the delegates usually receive great respect and courtesy in the host countries.

Unfortunately, one effect of the attractiveness of overseas trips has been the temptation to view selection as a reward rather than a function of need and merit. In many cases decisions are at least partly based on perceptions of whose turn it is to go abroad rather than who is the most suitable candidate. As a result, English lecturers may be sent to study the implementation of technical education, administrators rather than teachers examine school-based health programmes, and administrators attend workshops for school principals.

Of course this does not always happen. But when it does happen the needs of the country suffer. To reduce the problem, the Ministry needs a clear selection system. But this, of course, requires personnel to establish and maintain the system; and such personnel are difficult to find in a small bureaucracy.

5. The Culture of the Ministry

Despite the fact that the MEHRD is one of the largest ministries in the country, people all know each other intimately. This is partly a function of educational history, for the early schools which served only a small minority of the population recruited broadly across ethnic groups and regions. Officers also have many non-work linkages, e.g. through the churches.

Some advantages of this situation are that it facilitates assessment for appointment and promotion, it promotes teamwork, and it assists mutual understanding and establishment of trust. However, if mismanaged the situation can also create problems. Subordinates may find it difficult to respect their superiors, and they may ignore procedures governing bureaucratic relationships. Interpersonal links may interfere with disciplinary decisions; and senior staff who are appointing or confirming individuals in posts may give preference to those already in the Ministry simply because they already know them.

To maximise the advantages, managers must know their limits when it comes to language usage, joking and so forth. Managers may motivate or reward and encourage positive achievements resulting from knowing each other, but must also punish negative attitudes and behaviour.

While official means of getting information through are maintained, i.e. minutes to officers, much information is passed verbally. This is especially true of information from superiors. For example, the Minister, Permanent Secretary and Under Secretaries may call on another officer to provide some information or make an instruction.

However, experiences have shown that frustration may result if it is simply assumed that information has passed through these channels. A classic example in 1989 was a curriculum workshop which was to be opened by Ministry officials. Although the officials were informed, communication was inadequate with the teachers. As a result, the officials turned up to an empty hall.

A small organisation also provides scope for personal impact. This is advantageous when the scope is for positive developments, though there is also a danger of costly damage. To maximise scope for desirable change, it is vital that those with insight are identified and are involved as much as possible in discussion and decision-making. Such people should be given responsibility and guided autonomy.

To limit undesirable change, it is important to create a sense of belonging by encouraging team effort within the Ministry. Although consensus is the ideal, collegial collaboration must also allow for individual opinions. It is also necessary to monitor and appraise officers' performance to ensure conformity to standing procedures.

6. Conclusions

Solomon Islands is a geographically dispersed country with great linguistic and cultural diversity. These factors have combined to require a decentralised system of government, even in what may be described as a small state. However, relationships between the national and provincial governments are not always smooth, and the manpower demands of provincial governments make worse the already serious shortages of qualified personnel.

One corollary of linguistic and cultural diversity is a strong sense of clan identity among people of the same ethnic group. This is known locally as the 'wantok' system (from the Pijin word, meaning 'one talk'). Senior officers in the Public Service Board are aware of the problems that the wantok system can create for a bureaucracy that they wish to operate along neutral lines, and for this reason are wary of making appointments which could lead to excessive placements of people from the same ethnic group in related key areas. Of course such considerations also hold in many other countries, including both neighbouring Papua New Guinea and more distant countries in Africa. But in a small state they cause particular difficulties because they cause further fragmentation of an already limited pool of expertise.

Yet despite these and other constraints, the MEHRD has many achievements to its credit. Particularly notable has been progress in curriculum development and in publication of textbooks. The country has also successfully attracted much foreign aid. Such aid has been especially valuable not only for capital works but also for tertiary education outside the country, and the projects managed by the IPU have significantly improved the quality of education. Aid projects have also given access to external expertise, and for many people in the Ministry they have broadened what might otherwise have been rather narrow professional horizons.

Finally, it is worth returning to the fact that in Solomon Islands Education has been merged with Human Resources Development in a single ministry. This, of course, has a problematic as well as a beneficial side. The problems include that HRD is highly technical, and demands from education staff types of expertise which they may not have. For example the EEC project mentioned above included a component on development of tourism rather outside the experience of most of the old Ministry of Education & Training staff who had been recruited from the school system.

But on the other side, this broadening is beneficial. Too many educators simply assume that education is a good thing in itself, and have very hazy ideas about the performance of school leavers in the labour market. The fact that HRD is in the same ministry as Education helps educators to see the need for more careful analysis of the nature and role of education. The linkage therefore has much to commend it.

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